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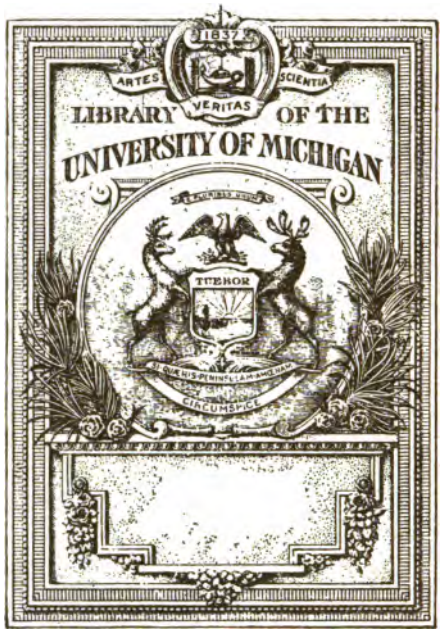
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James Earl of Derby.

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

HOUSE OF STANLEY,

FROM THE

CONQUEST

TO THE

DEATH OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

Edward,

LATE

EARL OF DERBY,

IN 1776.

CONTAINING A GENEALOGICAL AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THAT

ILLUSTRIOUS HOUSE.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A COMPLETE HISTORY

OF

The Isle of Man,

WITH A COMPARATIVE VIEW

OF

The past and present State of Society and Manners;

CONTAINING ALSO

ANECDOTES

OF EMINENT PERSONS CONNECTED WITH THAT ISLAND.

Manchester:

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1821.



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A

GENEALOGICAL AND HISTORICAL

ACCOUNT OF THE

ANCIENT AND HONOURABLE

House of Stanley,

FROM THE CONQUEST

TO THE YEAR 1741.

THE illustrious house I have undertaken to describe and treat of in the course of these memoirs, is allowed, by all the historians and records I have met with, to have been a family of great antiquity and renown; having in their several ages been distinguished and promoted, by royal favour, to the highest posts of honour and trust under sovereign princes, and always advancing in the front rank of our British heroes.

But with regard to the origin and lineal descent of this ancient house, authors are not fully agreed on that head: Mr. Cambden* makes them to spring from the same stock with the barons of Audley; and tells us that the barons of Audley built Healey castle, in the county of Stafford, upon lands given to them by Harvey de Stafford, as also Aldeleigh, by Theobald de Verdon; and from these, says he, sprung the family of the Stanleys, Earls of Derby, but gives no pedigree or lineal descent thereof.

* Mr. Camb. Brit. on Staffordshire.

And though this account from so public an author might be esteemed by some very honourable, as being related to, or descended from, a family which he assures us made one of the greatest figures in the nation for some ages; yet methinks, as the noble house of Stanley hath produced so many brave and gallant persons both in peace and war, the original thereof demands a more particular inquiry and description than Mr. Cambden had thought fit to bestow upon them, who appears to me to have taken the relation given us of this most worthy family more upon trust, and the credit of others, than any labour or acquired knowledge of his own.

Wherefore, for the honour due to so many brave and worthy persons, the satisfaction of the reader, and that all the heroic and celebrated actions performed by them may not be buried in oblivion, I have procured and inspected all the histories, records, and manuscripts, of value or esteem, I could possibly obtain either the sight or private use of, with respect to the subject before us; and have, as I think, met with some public prints, as well as manuscripts, of equal antiquity and authority with Mr. Cambden, from whence it will manifestly appear to the reader, that the honourable house we are here treating of, is of greater antiquity and an earlier original (at least in England) than the barons of Audley can boast of; and that Mr. Cambden might, upon full inquiry, with much more reason have said, that the barons of Audley sprung from the same stock with the earls of Derby, for they were engrafted into it, and sprung from it, as hereafter is shown.

Mr. Cambden indeed tells us, in his Survey of Staffordshire, that the family of Stanley were seated at Stoneley, situated in the northern parts of that county, called the Moorlands, near the head of the river Trent, and about a mile west of it; that the land was craggy and stony, and thinks the family might take their name from thence, but

does not acquaint us how long the family might have been seated there, nor even who resided there in his time.

But my learned and right reverend author, Bishop Rutter, in his manuscript now by me, agrees with Mr. Cambden in the situation as before, and observes further, that the original of the Stanleys was of Saxon extraction, (as indeed I find, by the best and most approved antiquaries, were all the families in England whose sirnames end in Ley, Ton, and Comb; as Bolton, Dalton, Walton, Sefton, Singleton, &c.; also Stanley, Tyldesley, Townley, Mawdsley, Walmsley, &c. and Duncomb, Tidcomb, Jacomb, Edgcomb, &c.) and that the family now before us, was seated at Stonely as aforesaid; and is of opinion, that the Stanleys might assume their sirname from that lordship, which is very probable with respect to the name, the soil being, as above, of a rough and stony nature; and that nothing was more common and usual in those early times, than for families to give their sirnames to their seats, or to take them from that of the seat, of which we have many instances in our own memory, as well as history.

But how long this honourable house might have been seated here before the conquest is not discoverable from history or record; but the reverend and learned author * before assures us, that they were here long before the coming in of William duke of Normandy; and that he was attended in his expedition to England by one Adam de Audley, or Audithley, as the French have it; and that he was accompanied from Audithley, in Normandy, by his two sons, Liduiph and Adam; and that on the duke's obtaining the crown of England, he gave Adam the father large possessions, as indeed he did all his followers, insomuch that Mr. Cambden † observes in his notes on this family, that it is strange to read what lands King Henry III. confirmed to Henry de Audley, the son of Mrs. Stanley, (as

* Dr. Rutter's M. S. 1666. † Camb. Brit.

hereafter,) and his family, which were bestowed upon them by the king, the bounty of the peers, and even of private persons.

And to heighten and increase the grandeur of this favourite family, who had attended and greatly served her husband King William, Queen Maud, his wife, and daughter of Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, commonly called Maud the Stranger, gave to Adam de Audithley, the father, the seat of Red castle in the county of Salop, with all the lands and tenements thereto belonging, and where it is probable that family resided to their building of Healey castle, in the county of Stafford, upon lands given them by Hervey de Stafford as before; which brought them into that county, and from whence they were first styled barons of Healey: but which of them built that castle, and who first possessed it, history does not inform us.

Wherefore, having by this small digression given the reader the story of the barons of Audley's first appearance in England, and settlement there, I shall for a while suspend any further mention of them and their posterity, and return back to the house of Stanley, whose antiquity and situation are in part before described.

The first Lord of Stoneley I met with in history or record, is styled Henry Stanley de Stoneley, who lived, as near as I can compute, about forty or fifty years before the conquest, and some time after; and having issue an only daughter and child named Mabilla or Mabel, he gave her in marriage to Adam, the son of Lidulph de Audley, the elder son of the aforesaid Adam, by whom she had issue a son, named Henry, after her father, on whose decease, Adam her husband was, in her right, Lord of Stonely and Balterley, as hereafter. The said Henry the son was the person mentioned by Mr. Cambden to have had such large possessions confirmed to him by King Henry III.

Being so possessed of those manors, he some time after exchanged the manor of Stoneley and part of Balterley with

his cousin William, the son of his uncle Adam, of Thalk on the hill, as by the following deed upon record, viz.

"I, Adam, the son of Lidulph de Audithley, give and grant unto William de Audithley, the son of Adam my uncle, the town or manor of Stoneley, and half the town or manor of Balterley, in exchange for the town or manor of Thalk on the hill, &c. Testibus, Henrico Preers, Roberto de Audithley, Adam de Capell, and William de Wolve," &c.

Upon which deed in the hands of Sir Rowland Standley, of Hooton, Baronet, living in the year 1610, is reserved the yearly rent of twelvepence, payable for ever, from the town or manor of Thalk, to the aforesaid William and his heirs.

And here Mr. Speed,* in his History of Staffordshire, very aptly confirms the above account given by Bishop Rutter, of the family of Stoneley, by his discovery of another branch of the said house being seated at Stafford, which he calls Thomas Stanley, Esq.; and remarks, that he was younger brother, or uncle to the aforesaid Henry of Stoneley, and that his ancestors founded the abbey of Sandewell, in the county of Bucks, and endowed it with £38. 8s. 4d. per annum, which was esteemed a large income in those times, before the reduction of the Roman standard, when every penny was of equal value with sevenpence now. He further observes that the said Thomas Stanley, of Stafford, Esq. had one only daughter, named Joan or Joanna, and that he gave her in marriage to the aforesaid William de Audithley, the son of Adam as aforesaid, and with her, as a marriage portion, gave him the manor of Thalk, which being exchanged as by the above deed, he in honour of his lady, and the antiquity of her family, made choice of Stoneley for his seat, and called himself Stanley. From him are descended all the Stanleys

* Speed's Hist.

we shall hereafter treat of in their order; but shall respite them awhile, and proceed by a short digression to give the reader an account of the issue and posterity of Mrs. Mabilla Stanley, by Adam de Audithley.

The first was a son, named Henry, who was the founder of Hilton abbey, on which he settled large revenues. * He married to his wife Bertred, the daughter of Ralph Manwaring, of Peover, in the county of Chester, and by her had issue two sons, James and Adam; also two daughters. Adam the second son died young, and James the elder son was the first I have met with in history styled Lord Audley, of Healey castle.

This Lord Audley is recorded to have been a very brave and gallant man, and an eminent and experienced soldier, being one of the chief commanders at the famous battle of Poictiers in France, under Edward the Black Prince, son to King Edward III. where he gained immortal honour, as well by his bounty as his valour; for the prince, being a witness of his undaunted courage, superior conduct, and high merit, in the glorious and ever memorable victory obtained that day, September 19th, 1357, gave him, in reward of his eminent and distinguished service, £500 per annum, in England, which he immediately bestowed upon his four esquires or captains, who served under him; (whereof Sir John Stanley, hereafter to be spoken of, is said to be one,) of which the prince being informed, was greatly surprised, and asked him if he did not accept his favour; to whom he replied, "he did; but that those he had given it to, deserved it as well as he, and wanted it more;" with which answer the prince was so well pleased, that he gave him £500 per annum more. † A noble example of munificence in the prince, and merit and generosity in the subject, and worthy the imitation of all brave and generous spirits.

* Camb. Brit. † History of the Wars in France.

Shortly after this remarkable battle, in which more of the enemy were slain and taken prisoners than the prince's army were in number, a truce ensued betwixt England and France, and soon after a peace was concluded, upon which this brave lord (now Lord Audley, being the second of his name, and fifth of his family,) was appointed Lord Justice of Ireland; and, as I take it, Commander-in-chief of all his Majesty's forces in that kingdom, as his grandfather had been; for on his survey and visitation of the country, he was unhappily killed by a fall from his horse at Thomond, in the year 1372, which put an end not only to the life of this brave and valuable person, but to the male issue of his family, with whom I shall, with an observation or two, forbear all further history of them, and proceed with the issue and posterity of William of Thalk, now Lord of Stoneley, which we shall henceforward call Stanley.

First, upon the death of this honourable peer, his honour and estate descended to his two sisters above mentioned; some say his two daughters.

Secondly, that his eldest sister or daughter, named Margaret, married to Thomas Touchet of Nether-Whitley, in the county of Chester, and in her right became Lord Audley of Healey castle; who, by the favour of the crown, was dignified with the honour and title of Earl of Castlehaven, in the kingdom of Ireland, and whose posterity afterwards married the eldest female issue of the first daughter of Ferdinand Earl of Derby, and thereby became entitled to, and possessed of the barony and estate of Lord Strange of Knocking.*

What arms or bearing were used by the house of Stanley to this time I cannot set forth, but suppose, from their intermarriages with the house of Audley, they might give the same arms.

* Journal of the House of Lords.

I could bring down the issue and descendants of this noble family to our own time, but as it is foreign to my purpose, I have chosen to omit all further notice of them, judging what has been said sufficient to show the further alliance of the two noble families, and proceed to the new family of Stanley, seated at Stoneley.

William de Audley, now Stanley, seated at Stoneley, by the exchange above-mentioned, both of name and estate, had, no doubt, other seats and lands to which his posterity might remove, as they increased in number by marriage or on other occasions, which I find to be the case, and has rendered their lineal and collateral succession more obscure and difficult to pursue in a regular and steady course, from the goings out of so many several branches from this growing family, as I have met with in the long space of time from the conquest to the year 1741.

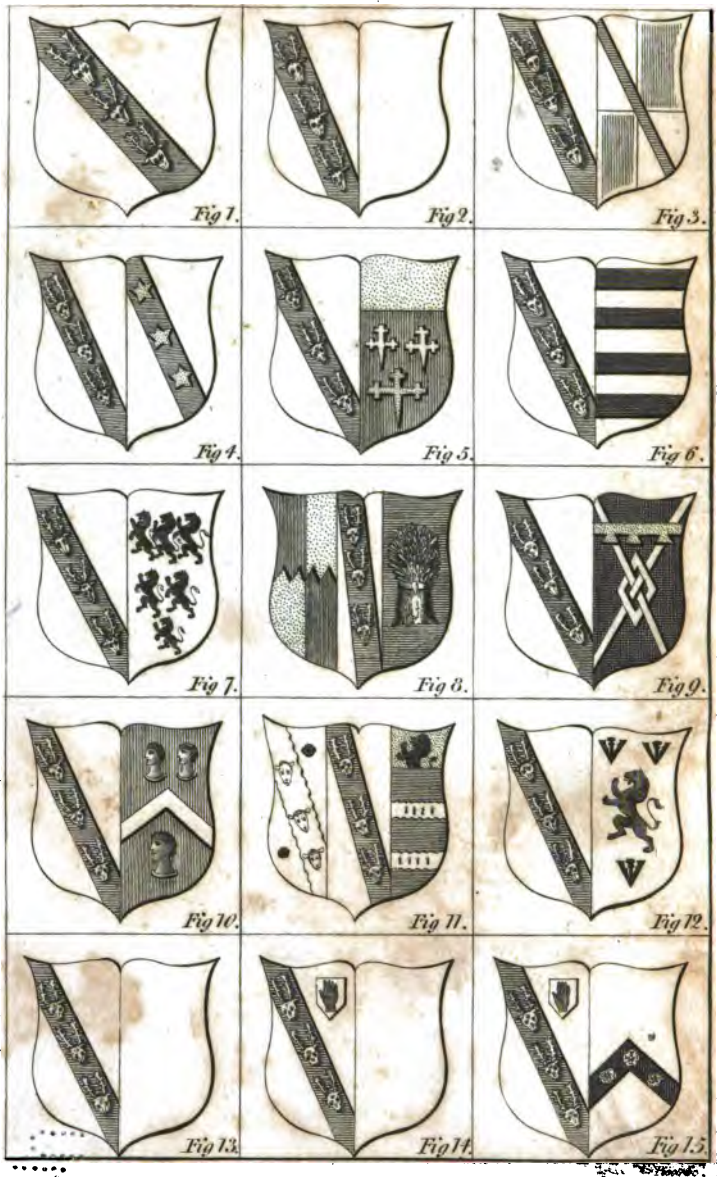
However I have, as I think, deduced and connected together, as well the collateral as the direct line of this spreading house, from the aforesaid William Lord of Stanley, to Sir Rowland Stanley of Hooton, in Wirral, in the County of Chester; wherein I have used my best endeavours to be as correct as possible.

William de Stanley, the first Lord of Stoneley, in the County of Stafford, in virtue of the aforesaid exchange, is recorded* (for history is silent therein) to have had a son named William, by Joanna Stanley of Stafford, who succeeded his father William in the seat and manor of Stanley, and part of Balterley, with their appurtenances.

William Stanley the second, and son of the above William, is also recorded to have been Lord of Stanley, and to have had issue a son named William; but by whom, history and record are both silent, being very obscure and defective in those early times.

William the third, and son of the above William, is

* Heralds' Office, Chester.



FAMILY ARMS.

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styled milite* or knight, and is recorded to have had issue two sons, John and Adam, but by whom history as well as record are silent; neither do I find that John the elder son ever possessed the estate of Stanley, but died without issue; but that Adam the younger son succeeded his father Sir William, in honour and estate, is fully manifested hereafter.

Adam,† the son of Sir William, and fourth Lord of Stanley, is styled Sir Adam de Stanley, filius William de Stanley, milite, et Petar William de Stanley, and is recorded to have had a son named William, but by whom history and record are silent on that head.

William,‡ the son of Adam, and fifth Lord of Stanley, is styled William de Stanley, in the county of Stafford, Dom. de Stanley et Dom. de Stourton, in the county of Chester, et foresturæ foresta, or chief ranger of the forest of Wirral, by the grant of the tenth of King Edward II. 1316, who also gave him three bucks' heads for his arms or bearing. [*See arms, fig.* 1, *plate* 1.]

He married Joanna or Jane, the eldest daughter of one of the coheirs of Sir Thomas Bamvill, by Agnes his wife, one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir Alexander Sylvester, Lord of Stourton, from whom, Mr. Cambden says, the Stanleys derive themselves, viz. page 560, "that Hooton is a manor which, in King Richard the Second's time, fell to the Stanleys, who derive them from Allen Sylvester." But this is a gross mistake, as well from the account above given, as his own former writing, wherein he fixes the original of the Stanleys at Stonely, in the county of Stafford.

Sir Alexander Sylvester was the son of Ranulph Sylvester,§ and Ranulph was the son of Allen Sylvester, steward to Ranulph the third Earl of Chester, who gave him for his seat the manor of Stourton, with the bailiwick of Wirral, and the government of the forest there; and

* Heralds' Office, Chester. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid.

invested him therein by the delivery of a hunting horn, with certain fees and perquisites thereto annexed, to wit, among others, that he should blow or cause to be blown that horn, at Gloverstone, near Chester, on every Chester fair-day, in token that the tolls or duties payable for all goods bought or sold in that place, during the time of the fair, belonged to him, as a place of privilege to him and all his tenants there, exempt from the jurisdiction of the city. This horn is now preserved at Hooton, by the family of Stanley, the descendants of the said Jane Bamvill and Sir William Stanley, who by the said Jane had issue two sons, John and Adam, and one daughter named Sarah de Stanley, who married Roger the son of Sir Roger de Hausket. Adam, the younger brother, appears to have died young, and without issue; for I meet with no farther notice of him: but John, the elder, succeeded his father Sir William.

John, the son of the aforesaid Sir William, was the sixth Lord of Stanley, and the second of Stourton, and is styled Lord of Stanley and of Stourton. He married to his wife Mabill, daughter of Sir James Hausket, of Stourton parva, and by her had issue one son, named William. [*See arms, fig.* 2, *plate* 1.]

Sir William, the son of John, and seventh heir male of this spreading house, is styled William de Stanley, senior, Lord of Stanley and Stourton. The twenty-sixth of King Edward III. 1375, he married Mary the daughter of Hugh Massey, of Timperley, in the county of Chester, and sister to Sir Hamon Massey, of Dunham Massey, by whom he had issue two sons, William and John. [*See arms, fig.* 3, *plate* 1.]

Of John, the second son, afterwards Sir John Stanley, we have herein much to observe, but shall respite for the present, and proceed with the direct line, and then return to every collateral branch.

Sir William, the elder brother of John, by Mary Massey, was the eighth heir of this house, and succeeded his father

Sir William in honour and estate. The tenth of Richard II. he married Margery the only daughter of William de Hooton, of Hooton, in the hundred of Wirral, and county of Chester; and by her had issue a son, named William, who is styled Lord of Stanley, Stourton, and Hooton, and grand ranger in chief of Wirral, in the county of Chester. [*See arms, fig.* 4, *plate* 1.]

Sir William, the son of the aforesaid Sir William, was the ninth heir male of this honourable house, and succeeded his father in honour and estate. The fourth of Henry VI. he married Margery the daughter of Sir John Ardern, of Hardin, by whom he had issue two sons, William and John. [*See arms, fig.* 5, *plate* 1.]

John the younger son married to the heiress of Greswithen, in the county of Cumberland, from whom are descended the Stanleys of Delegarth and Arnaby in that county, whom we shall further describe in due place.

Sir William, the father of the said William and John, by Mrs. Ardern, was the first that removed from the old seat of Stanley, in the county of Stafford, to Hooton, in the hundred of Wirral, and county of Chester; who, for the enlargement and conveniency of his house, and better accommodation of his family, obtained license from King Henry VI. to build a turret or tower at his seat of Hooton, with embattled walls.

Viz. Huic Gulielmo de Stanley, milite, Rex Henricus sextus dedit licentiam construendi et edificandi turrum, apud menerium suum de Hooton, in Wirral, per literas suas patenus. Datus anno Regni suo secundo.

Which house and tower are now standing, to which Sir William, the elder brother of John, succeeded, and was the tenth heir male of his family. The seventeenth of Henry VI. he married to Alice the daughter of Richard Houghton, (as I conceive, of Lancashire,) and by her had issue a son, named William. [*See arms, fig.* 6, *plate* 1.]

Sir William, the son of the above William, by Mrs. Houghton, succeeded his father, and was the eleventh male heir in a direct line. He married to one of the daughters of John Savage, of Clifton, Esq. [*see arms, fig.* 7, *plate* 1.] and by her had issue two sons, John and William. I cannot discover that John the elder was ever married, but rather that he died young and without issue. But

Sir William, the second son of the above Sir William, by Mrs. Savage, succeeded his father as twelfth heir male of his family. He was styled senior, and married to his first wife Margaret, the daughter of John Bromley, Esq. by whom he had a daughter, who married to Gerrard of Brinn, in the county of Lancaster. Margaret his wife dying, he married to his second wife Agnes, the daughter of Robert Grosvenor, of Hulme, Esq. by whom he had a son, named William. [*See arms, fig.* 8, *plate* 1.]

Sir William, his son, by Mrs. Grosvenor, succeeded his father as thirteenth heir male of his family. He married Ann, the daughter of Sir James Harrington, of the county of Lancaster, knight; and by her had issue Catherine, William, Peter, John, and Agnes. [*See arms, fig.* 9, *plate* 1.]

Peter, the second son, married Elizabeth, the daughter and heiress of James Scaesbrick, of Moor-hall in Bickerstaff, by Margaret his wife, the only daughter and heiress of Thomas Atherton, of Bickerstaff, which shall be further spoken of hereafter.

How Catherine, John, and Agnes were disposed of, history does not inform us, farther than that Sir William, the son of the above Sir William, by Ann Harrington, succeeded his father, and was the fourteenth heir male of his family, and is styled Sir William Stanley de Hooton. He married Grace, the fourth daughter of Sir William Griffith, chamberlain of North Wales, [*see arms, fig.* 10, *plate* 1.] and by her had issue two sons, William and Rowland. William died in his father's life-time without issue, and in

his government of the Isle of Man, 1545; and Sir Rowland, his brother, succeeded his father Sir William in honour and estate, being the fifteenth heir male of this noble house, by the style of Sir Rowland Stanley, of Hooton. He married to his wife Margaret, the daughter and heiress of Hugh Aldersey, of Chester, Esq. and by her had issue a son, named William; but she dying in 1607, he married to his second wife Ursula, the second daughter and one of the coheiresses of Thomas Smith, of the city of Chester, Esq. [*see arms, fig.* 11, *plate* 1.] but by her had no issue. This Sir Rowland was created a baronet in the year 1661.

And Sir William, the son of Sir Rowland, by Mrs. Aldersey, was the sixteenth heir male in succession, and married to his wife one of the daughters of John Egerton, of Egerton, Esq. [*see arms, fig.* 12, *plate* 1.] and by her had issue a son, named William.

Sir William, the son of the above Sir William, by Mrs. Egerton, was the seventeenth heir male that succeeded his father in honour and estate. He married to his first wife Alice, the daughter of Richard Hugh, or Hughes, Esq. [*see arms, fig.* 13, *plate* 1.] and sister and heiress to Henry Hughes, and by her had issue a son, named Rowland, with several other children; but how they were disposed of I cannot discover, further than that Sir Rowland, the son of the aforesaid Sir William, by Mrs. Hughes, was the eighteenth heir male that succeeded his father, by the title of Sir Rowland Stanley, of Hooton. He married to his wife Anne, the daughter of Clement Paston, of Barningham, in the county of Norfolk, Esq. [*see arms, fig.* 14, *plate* 1.] by whom he had issue Mary, who married to Charles Harrington, of Huyton-Hey, in the county of Lancaster, Esq. Also Anne, Charlotte, William, Rowland, Dorothy, Elizabeth, Winefrid, Catherine, and Agnes. Catherine married to Robert Blundell, of Ince-Blundell, in the county of Lancaster, Esq. How the rest were dis-

posed of I am not further informed, but that William, his first son, succeeded him by the title of Sir William Stanley, of Hooton, son of Sir Rowland Stanley, and the nineteenth heir male of his family. He married Catherine, the daughter of Rowland Ayres, of Hassop, or Arsop, in the county of Derby, Esq. [*see arms, fig.* 15, *plate* 1.] by whom he had issue Rowland, now living, William and Elizabeth who died young, John, Henry, Anne, Thomas, (who takes the name of Massey,) Charles, and James.

Sir Rowland, the eldest son of Sir William, by Mrs. Ayres, and twentieth heir male of this ancient and honourable house, is now [1741] possessed of the honour and estate of his family; but, being yet unmarried, we must close all farther history of him.

Thus having, as we conceive, brought down the genealogical descent and succession of this ancient and most worthy house, in the direct line (with some mention of the collateral branches,) from Henry Stanley, of Stoneley, who lived at the coming in of William Duke of Normandy to this kingdom, in the year 1066, being above six hundred years; and having, as we think, been very correct therein, we are of opinion this honourable house may justly challenge the first rank for antiquity, and lineal descent from father to son, with most houses in England.

Give us leave now to return to John Stanley, Esq. afterwards Sir John Stanley, who married Isabel, the only daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Latham, of Latham, in the county of Lancaster; [*see arms, fig.* 16, *plate* 2.] and from him bring down the issue and descendants of that collateral branch, as promised, to the death of James, late Earl of Derby, which happened on the first day of February, 1735; wherein the reader will meet with as great variety of history, and as many eminent, valiant, and heroic actions and performances as most, if not any family in England can boast of; so that we may justly observe that, for antiquity, loyalty, and bravery, few or none may compare therewith.

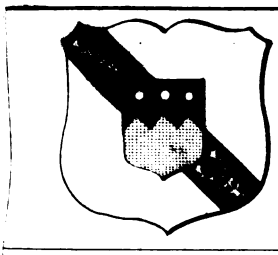


Fig 16

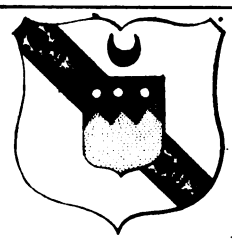


Fig 17



Fig 18



Fig 19



Fig 20



Fig 21



Fig 22



Fig 23

FAMILY ARMS.

Engd. for J. Cleaves Edition.



John Stanley, Esq. now to be treated of, was the second son of Sir William Stanley, and Mary Massey of Timperley, as in the pedigree before noted. He was born about the twenty-seventh or twenty-eighth year of Edward III. and had for his patrimony the old seat of Newton, in the hundred of Macclesfield, in the county of Chester.

This brave and valiant gentleman was one of the captains under the command of his relation James Lord Audley, at the famous battle of Poictiers in France, which was fought on the nineteenth day of September, 1357, by Edward the black Prince, son to King Edward III. wherein John, King of France, was taken prisoner, and brought captive to England.

Soon after this memorable victory, a truce betwixt England and France was agreed upon for two years, during which interval of public action, Mr. Stanley, being of a martial genius, and intent to improve himself in the art of war, visited most of the courts of Europe, even as far as Constantinople; wherein he made such advances in the school of Mars, that his superior skill in arms was generally applauded in every country he passed through; insomuch that the fame thereof gave him the character of the most noted champion in single combat of that age; so that on his return back through France, the reputation of his bravery did so raise the pride and envy of a haughty French combatant, that he followed Mr. Stanley to England, and there challenged the whole nation to produce a person to engage him in arms. Which being made known to Mr. Stanley, he accepted the challenge; and the time and place of action, by the king's direction, was to be at Winchester, under the walls of which city he fought and killed him, in the presence of his majesty and a numerous crowd of spectators.

This public and gallant action gave King Edward notice of him, and as a reward of his bravery, honoured him with knighthood; both which raised his reputation with all the

sons of Mars, and no doubt gained him the secret good wishes of all the fair sex present; amongst whom was the heiress of Latham, beautiful, young, and rich; which rendered her the envy of her own sex, and the desire and delight of all the admirers of beauty and virtue.

Sir John (for we must now honour him with that title,) declared himself her champion and humble servant, and after some time of address, gained an entire conquest of her, and married her, though with the unwilling consent of her father; the reason whereof we shall set forth at large hereafter.

Some time after his encounter with, and victory over the huffing French champion, King Edward III. died, and King Richard II. was advanced to the throne; who, in the first year of his reign, honoured Sir John Stanley with a commission to Ireland, to assist in the total reduction of that kingdom. By his prudence and good conduct he had such success, that on King Richard's coming there in person, in the year 1379, he brought the great O'Neal, King of Ulster; Rotherick O'Connor, King of Connaught; O'Caral, King of Uriel; O'Rorick, King of Meath; Arthur Mc. Mur, King of Leinster; and O'Brian, King of Thomond, to come to King Richard, and make their submission, and do homage to him as their sovereign prince. And thus Ireland was entirely subdued to the crown of England;* though many rebellions have been severely felt there since that time.

In consideration and reward of the great and eminent services performed by Sir John for his majesty's honour and interest, the king granted to him, by patent for life, the manor and lands of Black-castle in that kingdom; and, for the peace, good government and better security thereof, continued him there to the thirteenth year of his reign, 1389; at which time his majesty returned to Ireland, and

* Hist. of the Wars in Ireland.

stayed there all the winter, which gave his cousin Henry, Duke of Lancaster and Hereford, who had been banished by him for six years, an opportunity of returning to England without his license, or the full time of his exile expired.

This return of the Duke of Lancaster, who was an enterprising prince, of high spirit as well as blood, and of great power; insomuch that it is said of him, when he ascended the throne of England, he was the richest subject in Europe; and that the crown was more beholding to him, than he to the crown. All which, of consequence, must give great anxiety and uneasiness to the reigning king, and tranquillity of the kingdom; even foreboding no less than a total subversion, from so powerful a rival, as it after fell out. The great wealth of the duke here spoken of appears visibly in our days, by the extensive Duchy of Lancaster, which he took care to separate, and for ever distinguish from the crown lands, by erecting Lancashire into a county palatine, by the name of the duchy and county palatine of Lancaster, (sicut Cestria) annexing to it a court, with a chancellor, attorney-general, and council, &c. for the care and preservation of all its rights and privileges, with proper subordinate officers for that purpose.

Wherefore the king being informed of this disagreeable news, and the danger of his majesty's person, resolved to hasten to England, and made preparation for that purpose, by appointing his trusty and faithful subject and servant, Sir John Stanley, lord justice of Ireland for six years, with a grant to him, by patent for life, for the support of his honour and dignity, of one hundred marks a year, payable out of his majesty's exchequer there.

In the nineteenth year of this king's reign, 1395, he made Sir John Stanley constable of the castle of Roxborrow, in Scotland, a post of great hazard as well as trust, being surrounded with enemies on every side, which Sir John bravely repelled, with honour to his prince, and reputation to himself.

But the king's affairs being in a declining and doubtful state, and Henry of Lancaster having raised great forces against him, and being joined by many of the nobility, made great progress every where, without resistance; which at last prevailed upon King Richard to return to England, and he landed at Barklowly, in Wales; where, being informed that all the castles from the borders of Scotland to Bristol were delivered to the Duke of Lancaster, and that the army provided for his assistance by the Earl of Salisbury, whom he had sent before him for that purpose, had, by his long delay in coming over to them, mostly disbanded themselves, he was so much discouraged, that he fell into a deep despair, and the next night secretly, with a few friends, left what army remained, and retired to Conway castle, in Wales; where, with his friends, considering the desperate state he was reduced to, and how in some measure to support himself, and retrieve his misfortunes, among other expedients he recalled Sir John Stanley from Scotland, to return to his government of Ireland, to secure that kingdom in his majesty's interest; who, being informed that the king was then in Conway castle, took that in his way, to receive his majesty's commands, whom he found in a miserable and despairing condition, forsaken by his friends and soldiery, and the Duke of Lancaster near him with a powerful army; all predicting no less than a sudden revolution; which Sir John Stanley wisely foreseeing, paid a private visit to the Duke of Lancaster, and reconciled himself to him; and then, agreeable to his duty to the present king, proceeded to Ireland, to preserve the peace of that kingdom for his majesty's service.

The next step made by the king was calling a parliament to meet at Westminster, on the seventeenth day of September, from whom he hoped for assistance and relief in his present distressed circumstances; representing to them by Sir John Bushie, that the occasion of their meeting

was, to lay before them the many grievances and severe usage he had met with from the lords; also their harsh and unkind treatment of the queen consort; and that he had called them together for redress thereof, and the reformation of many transgressions against the peace of the land, that the offenders therein might be punished according to their deserts.

But this declaration was so far from answering the king's expectation, that the Duke of Lancaster and his friends found means to seize his person, convey him to Westminster,* and the next day to the tower of London.

Soon after this a parliament was called by the Duke of Lancaster, but in King Richard's name, in which many articles of misgovernment were laid to his charge, and thirty-three articles drawn up and exhibited against him, upon reading whereof he was by the parliament deposed.

But King Richard was advised rather to resign the government in a voluntary manner, than be forced to it; wherewith he thought fit to comply on the twentieth day of September, 1399. It may be truly observed, that this king lost his crown more by his own treason or indolence, than by the treason of any of his subjects.

After this resignation, and sentence of deposition, being openly read in parliament, Henry, Duke of Lancaster, was elected king; and on the thirteenth day of October following was crowned king at Westminster, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, by the name, style, and title of King Henry IV.

Upon this king's accession to the throne, Sir John Stanley being still lord justice of Ireland, and holding the government thereof in favour of the deposed King Richard, King Henry well knowing his very great power and interest in that kingdom, and his superior skill and experience, as well in the senate as in the field, thought it for his

* The Hist. of King Richard's reign.

interest and safety to receive him into his favour, and encourage him in his service; and, as a signal token thereof, granted to him and his heirs for ever, by his letters patent, dated at Westminster the first of January, 1339, the manor of Bydstra, in Wirral, and county of Chester, together with Sangham, Sangham-Massey, Moreton, Feurd, and Nesson; also several messuages, lands, rents, and services in Nesson, Raby, Leadsholm, Mollington, Torret, Chester, Claverton, Nether-Bebington, and Lea, near Bartington; with the advowson of the parish church of the Holy Trinity, in the city of Chester; which advowson is still with his successor the present noble Earl of Derby. But all the lands were sequestered and sold, save Upton, in the time of the unhappy usurpation.

In the year 1400, the king, for his most eminent services in the preservation of the peace of that kingdom, continued him there, and by commission appointed him lord lieutenant of Ireland for six years.

But the king's enemies began now to show themselves openly, and formed several plots, not only to disturb his peaceable possession of the throne, but even to cut him off; particularly one contrived by the abbot of Westminster, who was a kind of book-statesman, better read in the politics of Aristotle than those of Solomon. Remembering some words spoken by King Henry when he was but Earl of Derby, "that princes had too little, and the religious too much;" and fearing, now he was king, he might reduce his words into actions, this abbot thought it better to use preventing-physic than stand the hazard of an after-cure. Wherefore, the better to perpetrate and effect his studied treason and rebellion, he invited to his house the most factious and powerful of his party,* to wit, John Holland, Duke of Exeter; Thomas Holland, Duke of Surry; John Montague, Earl of Salisbury; Hugh Spen-

* Hist. of Henry IV.

cer, Earl of Glocester; John, Bishop of Carlile; Sir Thomas Blunt; and Maudlin, one of King Richard's chapel; who, after some conference, resolved to take away the king's life. But this pious plot was happily discovered in the nick of time, and the conspirators were most of them slain or executed, when taken. And here it may not be improper to remark with a learned author, "that he never knew a plot in his life, but either a priest or a woman, or both, had a hand in it."

The hot English blood was no sooner cooled by the above executions, but the Welsh boiled up to a high ferment, by the instigation of one Owen Glendour, an Esquire of Wales, brought up at the inns of court in London, a man of a fiery and aspiring temper. He endeavoured to draw his countrymen, the old Britons, into a general rebellion against King Henry; and to encourage them therein, insinuated, that this was the critical time to effect his and their liberty from the English yoke; for that a new conspiracy was formed against King Henry by the Piercys, Earls of Northumberland and Worcester, with Henry Hotspur, and other persons of great power, by whose assistance they could hardly fail of becoming a free people once more, under their own princes; by which they were so affected, that a triple league, offensive and defensive, was entered into by Glendour, the Piercys, and the Earl of March, under their hands and seals, whereby it was agreed that all England and Wales should be divided into three parts; the first, from Severn and Trent, south and eastward, to be the portion allotted to the Earl of March. Secondly, all Wales and the lands beyond Severn, westward, to be the lot of Owen Glendour. And thirdly, all the remainder of the land from Trent, northward, to belong to, or be the lot of the Lord Piercy. Upon this conclusion, the Piercys being joined by a large body of Scotch, and drawing to their party the Earls of Stafford and Scroop, the Archbishop of York, with many others

of great power, proposed to join the Welsh captain Owen Glendour, and his Welsh forces.

This formidable conspiracy and powerful preparation might well give the king great uneasiness, and engage him to procure all possible assistance from his friends and allies, amongst whom he called Sir John Stanley from the government of Ireland, who, on leaving that kingdom, appointed his elder brother, Sir William Stanley, then Lord of Stanley, Stourton, and Hooton, his deputy. On his arrival at court he was immediately appointed steward of the king's household. By his advice and assistance the king raised a formidable army,* which he headed himself, with his son and Sir John under him, and with them marched against the rebels, taking special care they might by no means be joined by the Welsh, and near Shrewsbury met and engaged the enemy. The fight was very furious on both sides; and though the Scots and the Earl of Northumberland behaved with the greatest bravery, yet victory rested on the king's side, wherein Sir John Stanley, by his known courage and prudent conduct, contributed not a little.

The Earl of Northumberland† was slain in the field, the Earl of Worcester taken prisoner and beheaded; and of the other officers and soldiers 6000 were slain in the field of battle. Upon this signal victory, the king caused public thanks to be given to almighty God.

For the suppression of Owen Glendour and his party, the king sent his son Henry, Prince of Wales, into that country with his whole army; but before their arrival there, upon notice of the king's victory over Northumberland, Owen Glendour was abandoned by all his followers; and, lurking in the woods and mountains, was there starved and famished to death.

* Hist. of Henry IV.

† By the rebellion of this earl, the Isle of Man was forfeited to King Henry, as hereafter.

Thus the king was, by the wisdom and good conduct of himself and officers, and the valour and bravery of his troops, happily delivered from the power and malice of all his rebellious subjects in this quarter.

But being informed that the city, castle, and precincts of York, still held out for the late King Richard, then a prisoner in Pomfret castle, he gave commission to Sir John Stanley and Roger de Leke to march with the army thither, and reduce that place to his obedience, and seize it to his use; which they accordingly effected.

The Isle of Man being by Northumberland's late rebellion forfeited to the king, he called Sir William Stanley from the government of Ireland, and gave him commission, with a proper force of men and ships, to seize that island to his majesty's use, which he completed; and Sir John Stanley's presence with the king being of the utmost consequence, his majesty appointed his younger son, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, lord lieutenant of Ireland, who landed at Carlingford in that kingdom the second of August, 1405; and, for his assistance therein, appointed Sir John Stanley attorney-general to that prince.

The year following, 1406, Sir John obtained license from his majesty to fortify a spacious house he was then building, at Liverpool, with embattled walls; which, when finished, he called the tower, being ever since well known by that name, and is now standing.

The Isle of Man being seized into the king's hands by Sir William Stanley, Sir John in the same year obtained a grant thereof, by patent for life; but in the month of October following that year, the king and Sir John came to a new agreement, whereby Sir John was to surrender to his majesty the said grant of the Isle of Man for life, also his two patents for life of the manor of Blackcastle, in Ireland, and the annual annuity of one hundred marks, payable to him out of his majesty's exchequer in Ireland. And on the sixth of April, 1407, Sir John delivered up the

said patents, to be cancelled in the chancery of England, in consideration whereof the king regranted the Isle of Man to Sir John Stanley and his heirs for ever, with all the royalties and franchises thereto belonging, and the patronage of the bishopric there, with the style and title of King of Man, in as full and ample manner as it had been granted to any former lord thereof; to be held of the crown of England, *per homagium legium*, and paying to the king, his heirs and successors, a cast of falcons at their coronation; after such homage made, and carrying the Lancaster sword on the left side of the king at every coronation, in full of all duties, demands, and services whatsoever.

In the tenth year of this king's reign, he appointed Sir John Stanley constable of Windsor castle, and knight of the most noble order of the garter; and continued him in his royal esteem and favour during the remainder of his life, which expired in the year of our Lord 1413, and the thirteenth year of his reign.

He was succeeded in the throne by his most martial and heroic son Prince Henry, Prince of Wales, by the style and title of King Henry V. with whom Sir John Stanley was in such high esteem, that, in the first year of his reign, he appointed him lord lieutenant of Ireland for six years, as his father had done; and the seventh of October that year he landed near Dublin, and on the sixth day of January following died at Ardee, to the great grief of his family, and the loss of the nation, in so eminent and useful a subject.

By this gentleman's death, the king and country were deprived of one of the most valuable members of society, and public spirit; who, through four kings' reigns, had made as great a figure, and acquired as much honour, as any of his contemporaries in the British nation. His youth and martial spirit gave him all those fine qualities that compose a complete gentleman, a brave and generous

hero, an accomplished courtier, and a just lover of his country. His age ripened him into a profound statesman, a wise and just patriot, and an honest politician; and, in fine, he was

Vir illustris in concilio,
Strenuus in omni prelio,
Princeps militæ in Anglia,
Et in omni regno ornatissimus.

His arms or bearing were those of his family, three stags' heads, together with those of the Latham family, into which he married. [*See arms, fig.* 17, *plate* 2.]

He married Isabel, the only daughter of Sir Thomas Latham, of Latham, in the county of Lancaster; and, as near as I can collect, about the time of his being appointed lord justice of Ireland by Richard II. By her he had issue two sons, John and Thomas, and one daughter named Alice. She married to her first husband Sir Thomas Dutton, of Dutton, who died in the year 1431; and to her second husband Sir John Wotton. Thomas, the younger son, married to the daughter and heiress of Sir John Ardern, of Elford, in the county of Stafford. And John, the elder son, succeeded his father by the title of John Stanley, Esq. the son of Sir John, who may be justly esteemed the common father of the earls of Derby; for from him they all sprung, as at large hereafter.

In the interim, before we enter into farther history of them, give me leave, by a short digression, to give the reader the antiquity and genealogy of the house of Latham, as it will not only afford us a clearer history of the several worthy families the house of Stanley intermarried with, but will clear up and illustrate many occurrences yet unknown to the world, and be of use and pleasure to the reader.

The first of the ancient house of Latham I meet with in record (for history is silent in that point,) is styled Sir Henry de Latham, of Latham, in the county of Lancaster. This gentleman lived at, or rather some time before the conquest. Who he married I cannot discover; but record is clear that at his death he left a son and heir, styled Sir Robert Latham, knight, son of Henry.

This Sir Robert Latham was a very eminent person, and recorded to be the founder of Burscough abbey near Latham; and also to have held of the Lord of Widness, in the county of Lancaster, under the fee of Halton,* in the county of Chester, the manors of Knowsley, Huyton, Roby, and Torbuck, on payment of a certain rent, and knight's service, of which more fully hereafter. At his death he was succeeded by his son and heir, styled also Sir Robert Latham.

Of this second Sir Robert I have little to remark, but that he succeeded his father in honour and estate, and that he died in the year 1266, and left a son and heir styled Sir Robert Latham, son of Sir Robert.

Sir Robert Latham, the third of that name, succeeded his father Sir Robert; but of him little is recorded more than that he died in the year 1324, and left a son and heir named Thomas, but by whom is not said.

Sir Thomas Latham married, the fifteenth of Edward III. the youngest daughter of Sir Haman Massey, of Dunham-Massey, in the county of Chester, and by her had issue one only daughter, whom he named Isabel, of whom and her posterity we have much to observe; but having described and brought down the male line of her family of Latham, we shall next proceed to her and her issue by Sir John Stanley.

Isabel, now Lady Stanley, on the death of Sir John her husband, returned with her children from Ireland to

* Records of Halton, in Cheshire.

Liverpool, and lived in the house erected there by Sir John, called the tower, the site whereof was given to him by her father, and contains about 650 square yards, together with several other burgage houses and lands in that town, sometime after her marriage; which, at the time of it, was not agreeable to her father, who was in all respects qualified to recommend her by a fortune equal to any addresses made her, of which she had many superior in worldly fortune to Sir John. But fortune herself largely shared her favours to him with a liberal hand, in the gifts of riches, honour, and dignities, which had their proper influence with her father Sir Thomas; who, by all the accounts I have seen of this affair, intended a plentiful provision for her, but not the gross of his large possessions, as will more fully appear in the following narrative.

Sir Thomas Latham lived in the reign of King Edward III. and he and his lady being highly advanced in years, without any other issue than the abovesaid Lady Stanley, and he being desirous of male issue, but despairing thereof by his own lady, had a love intrigue with a young gentlewoman of his acquaintance, whom he kept concealed in a house of retirement near him, until she bore him a son, on the news whereof he was greatly rejoiced; but on due consideration, there still remained some articles of consequence to be adjusted, for the future peace and quiet of Sir Thomas's mind, and the full completion of all his joys and wishes on this occasion. The first whereof was, how and in what manner to publish the birth of his young son, and he not so much as suspected to be the real father of him. Next, how to amuse and secure his lady from the pangs of a jealous mind, and induce her motherly care of the young infant, in such manner, that he might be nursed and brought up in his own house, free from all suspicion or uneasiness betwixt them. And lastly, that he might with the greater freedom and pleasure oversee and extend his paternal beneficence to him, as acts of charity, and

thereby screen himself from the ill-natured reflections of an inquisitive and censorious world. Wherefore the better to effect these nice and tender points, he had recourse to a pious cheat, by imparting the whole secret to an old trusty servant he could confide in, whom he consulted on the most likely and proper means to compass his wishes and desires.

After several schemes and proposals on both sides, they at last hit upon the following expedient, which they judged the most probable to answer all Sir Thomas's expectations. They considered that, as an eagle frequently formed her nest in a large thick wood, in the most desolate part of his park, where seldom any thing was seen but guests qualified for such a dismal habitation; therefore if the child was taken and laid there, as if brought by the eagle, it might on a pretended accidental discovery complete the whole project.

Sir Thomas approving hereof, gave directions to the mother to have the infant well fed, and richly drest, early the next morning, at an hour the servant was to call for it; which being done, instructions were given to him to lay it at the foot of the tree the eagle usually frequented, and so secretly to cover himself from all observation that he might see and guard it from all outward injury, by either bird or beast of prey, which he performed with all imaginable privacy.

And here permit me, before I proceed further on this head, to give the reader, by a short digression, the old story of a child said to be found in an eagle's nest at Latham, as transmitted to us from generation to generation; which runs in the following terms.

That Sir Thomas Latham and his lady, taking their usual walk in his park, drew near to a desert and wild situation, where it was commonly reported an eagle usually built her nest; and upon their near approach thereof heard the cries of a young child, which they ordered the servants

attending to look for; who, on search, reported it was in the eagle's nest, which they directed to be taken down, and to their great surprise and wonder was found to be a male infant, dressed in rich swaddling clothes. And they, having no male issue, looked upon this child as a present sent from heaven, and that it could be no less than the will of God that they should take this desolate infant under their care and protection, which they accordingly did, and had it carefully nursed, and baptized by the name of Latham; and, as the story goes on, he became possessor of that large estate, and at his death left an only daughter named Isabel, whom Sir John Stanley married; and in memory of this event took the eagle and child for his crest, as since used by his noble successors the earls of Derby.

Thus far the old tradition, which, on due examination, will appear to be mere fable and fiction, and highly improbable, when compared with the relation I shall give of this uncommon transaction from real fact.

Whoever knows any thing of the nature of hawks in general, (of which the eagle is principal,) must know with what fury and violence they strike their prey, killing all they stoop to at one stroke, or before they leave it; and, knowing this, must allow it morally impossible that a bird of prey, of that strength and rapacious nature that an eagle is known to be, should carry a live child to her aerie unhurt, which she never attends but when hatching or rearing her young, and then tears all to pieces she intends for herself or them as food, which they while young are unable to do for themselves. Besides, would it not be stretching our imagination to a great length, to suppose that a young child, dressed as this is described to be, should be left exposed in the open fields as a prey to all voracious creatures, destitute of guard or care? which is not reasonable to think, unless in time of plague, famine, or war, when something like this might possibly occur; but none of these articles being alleged in the case before us, nor any

infant known to be missing, we may justly conclude the old story mere tradition, without any just foundation.

Wherefore let us return to the babe we left sleeping under the tree, where we may suppose his father Sir Thomas took care he should not lie long on the cold ground, by paying him an early visit, when he found him fully awake, and calling for assistance, which he hastened to give him, by a speedy return home, and bringing out his lady and family to view the surprising discovery he had by accident made that morning. They were all filled with wonder and amazement, and unanimously agreed, that the infant's preservation in so dismal and dangerous a situation could be no less than a miracle; and upon finding it to be a male child, which was wanting in the family, the good old lady was enamoured with it, and concluded it to be the will of heaven that they should adopt him for their son and heir, which was readily agreed to by his father.

This being a time of the day when superstition and bigotry prevailed more than truth and reason, Sir Thomas had little more to do than to gild over this pious fraud in the most plausible manner, and to raise and encourage his lady's imagination and credulity to the highest degree, as an effectual means to accomplish his design; which he further promoted, by addressing himself to the good old lady in the following terms: That they having no male issue, and he possessed of an extensive patrimony, was unwilling it should pass into the hands of strangers to his name and blood, (though by the marriage of his daughter, if she should live so long,) that he looked upon this child so wonderfully preserved, as the gift of God to him, and that it could be no less than the will of heaven that he should take this desolate infant into his care and protection. The good-natured lady agreed to her husband's proposal, had the infant carried home, nursed, and brought up with the same care and tenderness as if she had been his natural mother. Sir Thomas, seconding and improving

the occasion, had him baptized by the name of Oskatel de Latham; a secret then unknown to any but himself and the mother, whose name was Mary Oskatel. And thus far Sir Thomas had, to his great pleasure and satisfaction, completed his project.

But to give the greater sanction to this supposed miracle, and to remove all suspicion of fraud, Sir Thomas assumed for his crest an eagle upon wing, turning her head back, and looking in a sprightly manner, as for something she had lost, or was taken from her. An impression of this crest was sent me on this occasion, [*see fig.* 18, *plate* 2.] with a full history of the said Oskatel and his posterity, by a descendant of the very foundling we have been describing, viz. Captain Samuel Finney, of Fulshaw, in the county of Chester, Esq. But of these articles more at large hereafter.

In the interim give me leave to make some remarks of crests in general, and of this here spoken of, and that used by the earls of Derby in particular, and thereby show how apt the allusion is to the origin of the family I am to speak of, and how agreeably consistent with the history of the crest used by the noble family above-mentioned, concerning the origin and occasion whereof so many speculations, disputes, and various opinions have been advanced by the curious in their histories of arms and crests.

Crests to our gentry's arms, as I have observed from all antiquity, have been assumed by them at pleasure, and agreeable allusions appropriated thereto. And ancient medals, signals, statues, inscriptions, and paintings, are the surest guides to a right knowledge of antiquity, as these serve to close up the many chasms that are frequently met with, both in the literal and traditional accounts of the ancients. So truly, without these helps, our ideas and conceptions must be lame, confused, and imperfect. This, in my opinion, has occasioned the many conjectural accounts that the world has received as facts, for want of

proper keys to unlock and expose to light the dark cells of antiquity.

The eagle, as represented in the Stanley's crest, has actually made a prey of the child, whereas Sir Thomas Latham's crest implies a miraculous preservation of it, as the child is supposed to be brought there by that bird of prey; so consequently its safety would be attributed to an extraordinary providential dispensation. Besides I cannot find, with any show of probability, that any of the family of Stanley ever assumed the eagle and child for their crest before the union of the families of Latham and Stanley; so that of consequence there must be some special and peculiar view or occasion for the assumption of that crest by the Stanley's, rather than that taken by their common ancestor, Sir Thomas Latham, which I shall endeavour to manifest herein, although there remains no room with me to doubt the veracity of what I have delivered on that head; but shall respite that for a while, and proceed to inquire how it fared with the foundling Oskatel, whom we left under the care of his kind nursing-mother, the lady of Latham.

As he grew in years, he was, as my author* tells us, liberally educated by his father; and when grown a man, and made a complete gentleman, being respected and esteemed by all that knew him, as heir to the extensive inheritance of Latham, and was with his sister Isabel at the famous tournament by Sir John Stanley and the French champion, at Winchester, his majesty was pleased to take such notice of him as to honour him with knighthood, by the name and title of Sir Oskatel de Latham, by which title we shall henceforth speak of him. But this gentleman's sunshine of fortune, like a March day, soon changed its aspect; for Sir Thomas Latham, being now in the evening of life, and intending to set his house in order,

* Bishop Rutter.

considered that his daughter the Lady Stanley, and her most hopeful issue, (being now near him,) were his legitimate offspring, and by the laws of God and nature justly entitled to his large possessions, he therefore settled the gross of them upon that lady and her heirs for ever, and declared Sir Oskatel to be only his natural son.

Thus Sir Oskatel, being degraded and supplanted in the hopes and prospect of an immense fortune, was slighted and despised by his unthought-of rivals, who, either to distinguish or aggrandize themselves, or in contempt and derision of their spurious brother, took upon them the eagle and child for their crest, [*see fig.* 19, *plate* 2.] in token of their conquest over him, which to me plainly manifests the variation of the two crests above-mentioned, and the reason of it.

However, Sir Thomas not quite forgetting his affection for, and kind intentions to his son Oskatel, reserved and settled upon him and his heirs for ever the manors of Irlam and Urmston, near Manchester, in the county of Lancaster, with several other large tracts of land and demesnes in that county; also the manor of Hawthorn, and many other lands and tenements in the county of Chester; and gave him the signet of his arms, with the crest assumed by him for his sake.

By the above reserve and settlement, Sir Thomas raised a new family of his own name, and though not in the old seat, as he had once intended, yet gave them a large patrimony, which enabled them to make a leading figure in the world to the time of the usurpation, when taking part with, and sharing in the fate of their suffering and noble relation the Earl of Derby, they, as well as he, were greatly reduced, as will appear hereafter.

Thus far we have attended Sir Thomas Latham through the course of his life, and near the exit of it. Let us therefore now leave him to die in peace, and a good old age, like a shock of corn ripe for gathering into the store-

house of perfection, and proceed to the issue and descendants of his daughter the Lady Stanley.

Isabel de Latham, now Lady Stanley, had issue by Sir John Stanley the first, two sons, Thomas and John, and one daughter named Alice, who married Sir Thomas Dutton, of Dutton, in the county of Chester. Thomas, the second son, married to Maud, the only daughter and heiress of Sir John Ardern, of Elford, in the county of Stafford, of whom we shall treat more fully in due place.

As for our disconsolate friend Sir Oskatel, we shall only observe at present, that though degraded and supplanted in a fair inheritance, yet we have brought him to his age, and placed him at the head of a large patrimony and new family, of the same name of his father, which his rivals could not boast of; wherefore we shall for the present forbear all further history of him, or them, which might throw us into some confusion, and render our history less intelligible. And having gone through the main or direct line, we shall fully treat of every separate or collateral branch, as they occur in point of time, as near as we can collect, or be informed of.

Beginning first with John Stanley, Esq. eldest son of Sir John Stanley, by Isabel de Latham, who was at his father's death (whom he succeeded) of the age of twenty-three or twenty-four years. He was a youth of great genius and vivacity of spirit, being early taken notice of at court, and made steward of the household to King Henry VI. and was, in the fifth year of that king, by the name of John Stanley, Esq. made constable of Carnarvon castle, in Wales, a post of great trust as well as hazard in those remote parts, and unsettled times; for the Welsh were at that time, as it were, but young subjects to England, uneasy in temper, and on every change of government frequently in tumults and insurrections, occasioned by the late rebellion of Owen Glendour, many of whose party and factious principles still surviving, failed not to stir up new

commotions, as occasion offered. But Mr. Stanley, by his prudence and good conduct, kept the people in peace, and preserved his majesty's interest, though with much care and watchfulness: insomuch that King Henry, in the seventeenth year of his reign, (Mr. Stanley being then groom of the bed-chamber to that prince,) gave him, in reward of his loyalty and faithful services, a grant of all the lands late Nichols's and Saxon's, in the counties of Carnarvon and Flint; also by a new commission appointed him governor of Carnarvon, and constable of the castle there for life, with the fee of £40 per annum; and also constituted him sheriff of Anglesea for life, with the fee of £20 per annum; and honoured him with knighthood, by which character we shall treat of him hereafter.

And in the mean time inform the reader, that by his vigilance and prudent management he not only suppressed all insurrections, but reduced the country to full obedience and tranquillity, in which he was greatly assisted by John Dumbill, a valiant captain, who had served under his father when governor of the castle of Roxburgh, in Scotland; and was, for his good and faithful service in Wales, retained the king's servant, with a pension of £5 per annum for his life, payable out of the king's exchequer at Chester This Dumbill was the son of one Dumbill, of Oxton, in Wirral, in the county of Chester, and the original ancestor of the Dumbills of Lime, in that county;* and, as far as I can collect, was appointed by Sir John Stanley his lieutenant in that government during his absence.

Thus Sir John, having made all very peaceable in Wales, resolved to visit the Isle of Man, where affairs were in some disorder, leaving the conservation and care of the people under his government to his trusty friend, Captain Dumbill. And on his arrival in the Isle of Man, we find him styled in their earliest records, (for before his

* Sir Peter Leicester in Cheshire.

time there were none extant,) *anno quarto regalitatis nostra*, which was the ancient style of their court-rolls, and continued down to the time of Thomas the second Earl of Derby, who, for great and wise reasons, declined the title of king, and only used that of Lord of Man and the Isles.

Sir John, now of mature age, and great experience in life, wisely considered, that a just regulation of the laws were a lasting happiness to the people, and the best security to the prince; in result whereof he consulted the judges and others well skilled in the ancient government, laws, and customs of that island; and by their advice convened the whole body of the people to a certain place in the centre of the country, since called Tinwald, where their grand annual court hath ever since been held on the twenty-fourth of June, for the promulgation of the laws and statutes made for their future government and observance, some of which remain to this time, and which we shall treat more fully of when we come to describe the government of that isle, and the several officers necessarily employed therein.

Sir John having adjusted and completed his system of government there, to his own and his subjects' security and satisfaction, put the same in motion by proper officers, over whom he appointed John Letherland, Esq. a neighbouring gentleman of Lancashire, his lieutenant, a gentleman well used to, and (as a justice of the peace,) well acquainted with the distribution of justice; and then returned to England.

On his arrival at court, he was by commission appointed one of the judges itinerant for the county of Chester; but died soon after.

He married Isabel, the only daughter of Sir John, and sister to Sir William Harrington, who, dying without issue, she became heiress to her brother, and mistress of the fine seat of Hornby castle, near Lancaster, with its appurtenance. By her Sir John had issue two children,

a son named Thomas, [*See arms, fig.* 20, *plate* 2.] and a daughter named Alice, who married Sir Thomas Dutton, of Dutton, in Cheshire.

The character given this gentleman, by the learned of that age, assures us that he was a man truly great, of a masterly genius, beloved by his prince, and an honour to his country; a kind husband, a tender parent, and a true friend.

He was succeeded in honour and estate by his only son Sir Thomas Stanley, who had been knighted some time before his father's death, and was, in the same year he died, made lieutenant of Ireland for six years, as his grandfather had been. He called a parliament in that kingdom, for redress of many grievances, in the year 1482; but being called to England, by his majesty's command, left Sir Christopher Plunket his deputy, and on his coming to court was made comptroller of his majesty's household. But by his absence, the king's minority, and the absence of the military men in France, the Irish were grown very insolent, insomuch that he was obliged to return to that kingdom, which he did in the year 1485; and with the power of Meath, and other assistance, he took Moyle O'Neal prisoner, and slew great numbers of the Irish. About Michaelmas after he came to England again, and left Richard Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin, and brother to the Earl of Shrewsbury, his deputy. The eleventh of Henry VI. he was, upon an inquisition *post mortem* his father, found to hold (as heir to Sir Robert de Latham, of Latham,) of the lord of the manor of Widness, in the county of Lancaster, in the time of Edward II. in the following words, viz.

Thomas Stanley, milite, comptroller, Dominus Robertus de Latham, tenet et Dom. de Widness, Maneria de Knowsley, Huyton, Roby, et Torbuck, pro uno fœda militis dat de releivo, cum accederit five pounds. This fœdary is extracted out of the records of Halton, tempore Edward II. et Henry VI.

The eighteenth of Henry VI. he was appointed by William de la Poole, Earl of Suffolk, and sole judge of Chester for life, to be his deputy. *Quam diu sibi placuerit.*

And the year following, it appears by record, "That whereas William de la Poole was made judge of Chester for life, he now maketh Sir Thomas Stanley, and William Ruckley, of Eaton, his lieutenant justices; and that they shall receive £40 per annum, *per manus Camerary.* Dated the eve of the annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary, the nineteenth of Henry VI."

In the twenty-sixth of Henry VI. being then comptroller of the king's household, he, with others, obtained a grant of all the goods and chattels of Humphrey, Duke of Lancaster, with power to dispose of them without account.

And the next year, he, with John Lord Viscount Beaumont and others, were commissioned to treat with the Scots for a truce betwixt both realms; and he was, the year after, appointed one of the conservators of the same for the king of England.

In the twenty-eighth of Henry VI. he was put in commission, with the Earl of Wiltshire and others, for the custody and defence of the town and castle of Calais, and the marches adjacent, with the tower of Reisbank, for the term of five years.

And the next year he was again made one of the conservators of the truce with Scotland, which was to hold good from the fifteenth of August, 1451, for three years, and of the continuance of the same to the twenty-first of May, 1457.

In the same year he was made sole judge of Chester, and continued therein to the thirtieth of that king's reign; and that year was again commissioned to treat with James Earl Douglas for a new truce with Scotland, which was to hold to the fourteenth of July, 1458.

In the thirty-fourth of that king's reign he was created Baron Stanley, and made lord chamberlain of the king's household.

The thirty-fifth of Henry VI. the king appointed him one of the council to Edward Prince of Wales.

The thirty-seventh of Henry VI. the king sent orders to Sir John Mainwaring to deliver certain state prisoners, then in his custody, and particularly named, to this Lord Stanley, for their greater security, which was accordingly done.

In the year 1460 he was again appointed one of the ambassadors to treat with those of Scotland on affairs of the greatest moment; but dying the latter end of the year, the nation was deprived of this very great and valuable person, and the king of one of his best subjects.

A character of this noble lord seems needless. His brave and worthy actions, and the high trust reposed in him through the whole course of his life, have manifested his perfections beyond what we can possibly say of him. His contemporaries inform us, that he inherited all the amiable qualities of his father and grandfather; that he was brave in the field, wise in the senate, just to his prince, an honour to his country, and an ornament to his family; being the first ennobled by royal favour from their original to his time.

He married Joan, the only daughter and heiress of Sir Robert Goushill, [*see arms, fig.* 21, *plate* 2.] by whom he had issue three sons, Thomas, William, and John; and three daughters. Margaret, the eldest, married to Sir William Troutback, of Cheshire; Elizabeth, the second, to Sir Richard Molyneux, of Sefton, in Lancashire; and Catharine, the youngest, to Sir John Savage, of Clifton, in Cheshire; all sisters to Thomas first Earl of Derby, who in the second of Edward IV. was made judge of Chester, and continued therein to the first of Henry VII. when departing this life he was succeeded in honour and estate by Thomas his eldest son, who was first summoned to parliament the twenty-fourth of May, the first of Edward IV.

by the style and title of Baron Stanley, of Latham, and was made steward of the king's household that year.

In the fourteenth of that king's reign, being then steward of his majesty's household, he was retained by indenture to serve his majesty in his wars with France, for one year, with forty men at arms, and three hundred archers.

At this time John Lord Scroop, whose ancestors had formerly been lords of Man, made complaint tot he king that this Lord Stanley bore the arms of that island. No decision could be made therein at that time, for the reasons hereafter recited by the king's letter under his sign manual, dated the first of May, 1475.

The King's Letter.

"EDWARD, by the grace of God King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, remembering the pretence and claim of John Lord Scroop, showed unto us, for the bearing of the arms of the Isle of Man, which now our right trusty and right well-beloved Thomas Lord Stanley, steward of our household, beareth, for briefness of time, having no convenient season to know the determination of the same, and providing so no variance therefore be had now in our voyage, have willed and desired that for the times and seasons that the said lords shall continue in our service in our realm of France, Dutchy of Normandy, or elsewhere beyond the sea, and also unto our and their returning next to this our realm of England, or either of them, that the said lords shall abstain and forbear the use and wearing of the said arms of the Isle of Man; whereunto, for the said desire, it is agreed, alway foreseen that the said will, desire, abstinence, and forbearing, be not prejudicial in that behalf unto the said Scroop nor to his heirs, nor be of none effect, strength, or virtue, but for the time above expressed."

In the twenty-second of Edward IV. Richard, Duke of Gloucester, being sent with an army against the Scots, this Lord Stanley commanded the right wing, consisting of four thousand, and took Berwick by assault, though with the loss of a great many men.

As he stood firm to Edward IV. so after his death he was no less faithful to his son Edward V. which the Duke of Gloucester, then protector to the young king, took so ill, that he had a design to murder him and the young king his nephew, as is clear by his taking Lord Hastings from the council-board, in the tower of London, and causing his head to be struck off; for at the same time one of the soldiers struck at Lord Stanley with a halberd, and had he not suddenly stooped under the table it had certainly cleft his head, and as it was he lost much blood; all which might have been prevented, if Lord Hastings had given heed to a prophetic dream of this Lord Stanley the night before; which was, that a boar with his tusks had so gored and raised them both, that the blood ran about their shoulders. He gave Lord Hastings speedy notice of this dream, with an invitation to come away, and with him to ride as far as they could that night; but he was not so fortunate as to regard the warning, and so lost his head.

Although Lord Stanley had the good luck to save his life, yet was he committed to prison; but as soon as that barbarous duke got possession of the crown, by the murder of his two nephews in the tower of London, Lord Stanley was released and set at liberty, King Richard fearing that his son George Lord Strange, a valiant captain, might cause an insurrection to set him at liberty, and put in danger his possession of the crown. Therefore the king, to ingratiate himself with this lord, and if possible to bring him over to his interest, on the sixteenth of December, in the first year of his reign, made him constable of England for life, with the fee of £100 per annum, payable out of the king's revenue, in the county of Lancaster, with power

to make a deputy; and had him installed a knight companion of the most noble order of the garter.

Lord Stanley married to his second wife Margaret, the Countess of Richmond, and widow of Edmund Earl of Richmond, by whom he had one son named Henry Earl of Richmond, who in right of his mother claimed a title to the crown; of which notice being taken by King Richard, and that he was then in France soliciting assistance from that king to recover his right, which, together with what assistance he might reasonably expect from the great power of his father-in-law Lord Stanley, might render his possession of the crown precarious, and greatly disturb his peace; therefore this noble lord began to be suspected as a well-wisher to the interest of Prince Henry, and the countess his mother was commanded to put away all her old servants, and forbidden to send any messages to, or receive any from, the earl her son.

Lord Stanley wisely concealed all his sentiments in this critical conjuncture; and the better to cover and secure himself from the suspicions and jealousies of that tyrannical king, requested leave to retire into the country on his private affairs, and to raise forces for his majesty's service. But the king knowing his great interest, and fearing that under that pretence he might give aid to his rival the Earl of Richmond, refused his consent, until he gave up George Lord Strange, his son and heir, as a hostage for his loyalty.

However, on the Earl of Richmond's landing, he failed not to meet the king on the day of battle with what forces he had collected; but he had a private meeting with the earl the day before, at Atherston, about six miles short of Bosworth, coming thither with great privacy. The next day, approaching the field of battle, he openly appeared with his forces in favour of the earl; upon which the king sent him the following message: "That unless he did forthwith repair to his presence, he would put his son the

Lord Strange to death;" and marched with him in the rear of all his forces, guarded by one troop of horse and some foot. To which Lord Stanley answered, "That the king might do his pleasure: and if he did put him to death, he had more sons alive, and was determined not to come to the king at that time." The king therefore had resolved to put him to death, but was told by his lords and others about him, that his majesty had a greater work in hand, and that it was not a time now to think of executions, but of defence; upon which Lord Strange was spared.

The battle speedily ensued, and remained doubtful for some time, until Sir William Stanley, of Holt castle, and brother to Lord Stanley, came in with 3000 fresh men, who turned the whole action in favour of the Earl of Richmond, and gave him a complete victory, wherein King Richard was slain, with a great number of his followers.

Amongst the spoils of the field was found what Lord Bacon* calls an ornamental crown, which Richard used to wear on particular occasions; and some say, Lord Stanley, but this great author, and others of great authority say, Sir William Stanley put it upon the head of Henry Earl of Richmond, and proclaimed him king, by the name of Henry VII. all crying aloud, *King Henry, King Henry.*

This memorable and glorious battle, (if any may be allowed that epithet,) where so many lives were lost, was attended with most advantageous consequences to the nation; for by it they were delivered from the most wicked, arbitrary, inhuman, and tyrannical prince that ever sat on the throne of England; and, as an additional blessing, it laid the foundation of friendship, regulation, and union, between the two ancient houses of York and Lancaster, betwixt whom more blood had been shed than in all the wars with France.

The same year,† on the twenty-seventh of October,

* Lord Bacon's Hist. † First of Henry VII. 1485.

King Henry created Lord Stanley Earl of Derby, and constituted him one of the lords commissioners for executing the office of lord high steward of England, upon his own coronation, the thirtieth day of the same month.

On the fifth of March following, he had a grant of the high office of constable of England for life, with the fee of £100 per annum, payable out of the king's revenues in Lancashire, as before.

In the second of Henry VII. he was one of the godfathers to Prince Arthur, the king's first-born son; and in the third of Henry VII. one of the commissioners for executing the office of lord high steward of England, on the coronation of Queen Elizabeth, consort to that king.

In the sixth of Henry VII. he was commissioned, with George his son, to borrow money in the county of Lancaster, for the king's expedition into France.

The eleventh of Henry VII. he was one of the guarantees of the peace made between that king and the Archduke of Austria. And the same year was one of the lords that assented to the peace made with France, at the Staples on the sea, near Bologne, 1492. He died in the year 1504, the nineteenth of Henry VII. as by his will of the twenty-eighth of July that year, and the probate thereof on the ninth of November following, *(see the will)* to wit, July the twenty-ninth, 1504. Wherein he, by the title of Thomas Earl of Derby, Lord Stanley, Lord of Man, and great-constable of England, bequeathed his body to be buried in the midst of the chapel, in the north isle of the church of Burscough, near Latham, in the county of Lancaster, of his ancestor's foundation, where the bodies of his father and mother, and others of his ancestors, lay buried, having moulded a tomb to be there placed, with the personages of himself and both his wives, for a perpetual remembrance to be prayed for. And likewise appointing, that the personages he had caused to be made for his father and mother, his grandfather and grandmother,

and great grandfathers, should be set upon the arches of the chancel, within that priory, in the places provided for the same.

And though he had formerly given to the prior and convent of that house large gifts, in money, jewels, and ornaments, and likewise made great reparations there, he further bequeaths unto them twenty pounds, to the intent that they should be obliged by their deed, under their convent-seal, to cause one of the canons of that house daily to say mass, in the before-mentioned chapel, for his soul; also for the soul of his lady (then living) after her decease; likewise for the soul of Eleanor his former wife; and for the souls of his father, mother, ancestors, children, brethren, and sisters; also for the soul of William, late Marquis of Berkley, and for the souls of all those who died in his or his father's service; and every mass, before the lavatory, audibly to be said, for the said souls appointed by name, and all others in general, *de profundis clamavi*, and such other orisons and collects as are used to be said therewith.

And furthermore he willed, that his son Sir Edward Stanley should have and enjoy the castle of Hornby, so long as he lived: he departed this life the ninth of November next ensuing.

This noble earl married to his first wife Eleanor, the fourth daughter of Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, [*see arms, fig.* 22, *plate* 2:] and by her had issue six sons, and four daughters; of all which in their order. Thomas and Richard, his two first sons, died young; and George, his third son, married Joan, the only daughter and heiress of John Lord Strange, of Knocking, near Shrewsbury, and had a summons to parliament by the title of Baron Strange, the twenty-second of Edward IV. Place as in Strange, the twenty-ninth of December, twenty-eighth of Edward IV. and afterwards to the twelfth of Henry VII. inclusive.

Before his said marriage, he was one of those noble persons who received the honour of knighthood, by bathing with Prince Edward, the king's eldest son, the eighth of April, and fifteenth of Edward IV. In the first of Henry VII. he was made one of the lords of the privy council.

In the second of Henry VII. he was appointed one of the principal commanders of the king's army, at the battle of Stoke, near Newark, and shared greatly in the honour of that victory, then obtained against the Earl of Lincoln and his adherents, patrons and supporters of one Lambert Simnel, who pretended to be the eldest son of Edward IV. and thereby claimed a right to the crown, prior to, and exclusive of King Henry VII. and his queen, the eldest daughter of King Edward IV.

In the seventh of Henry VII. he was retained by indenture to serve the king in France, with ten men at arms, five demy-lances, twenty-four archers on horseback, and two hundred and forty-seven archers on foot, each man of arms to have his custrel and page, for one year, from the day of his first muster, and so long after as it shall please the king; and to muster the same at Guildford, in Surry, on the first of June. And after such muster, on his arrival at Portsmouth, to receive of the treasurer of war the conduct-money, for bringing his said forces to Portsmouth, viz. sixpence for every one of them, for as many twenty miles as are between the houses from whence any of them departed, and the said town of Portsmouth; and also to receive for each of the said men at arms, garnished with his custrel and page, eighteenpence per day; and for every of the said demy-lances ninepence per day; and for every of the said archers on horseback, or on foot, sixpence, &c.

Soon after the above action, he was made one of the knights companions of the most noble order of the garter. In the ninth of Henry VII. upon the siege of Norham castle by the Scots, he advanced with the Earl of Surry, and many others of the nobility, against those bold in-

vaders; but the enemy being retreated before they came up, nothing of note was performed.

He was at the Staples on the sea, near Bologne, in France, the third of November, 1492. And on the fifth of December, in the thirteenth of Henry VII. he departed this life at Derby house, now the college of arms, on St. Bennet's Hill, London; (his father then living,) and was buried in the parish church of St. James's, Garlick Hythe, London, near to Eleanor, the Countess of Derby, his mother.

He left issue by Joan his wife two sons, Thomas and James; and two daughters, Jane and Elizabeth. Jane married Robert Sheffield, Esq. and Elizabeth died young. Of his two sons more hereafter. In the interim I cannot well omit an inscription I met with in the church of Hallingdon, in the county of Middlesex, as it relates to him, though, I suppose, occasioned by some encomiums on his father, who had an estate there; but is so defaced with time, that I could not fully take it off: however, as far as I could make it out with certainty, it is as follows:

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"He married his first son George to no farm nor grange,
But honourably to the heir of the Lord Strange;
Who lived in such love as no man else had,
For at the death of him divers went almost mad.
At an ungodly banquet, alas! he was poisoned,
And at London, in St. James's Garlick Hythes, lies buried."

[*See arms, fig.* 23, *plate* 2.]

William, his brother, and fourth son of Thomas, Earl of Derby, died young and unmarried.

Edward, his fifth son, styled Sir Edward Stanley, was a gentleman of the sword, by which he acquired both honour and fortune, as hereafter.

James, the sixth son of this noble lord, was Dean of St.

Martin's, in London, and made Bishop of Ely the twenty-second of Henry VII. also Warden of the Collegiate Church at Manchester, in the county of Lancaster; and lieth buried in the chapel of St. John Baptist, by him built on the north side of that church, with the following inscription on his tomb. "Of your charity pray for the soul of James Stanley, some time Bishop of Ely, and Warden of Manchester; who deceased out of this transitory world the twenty-second of March, in the year of our Lord God 1525. Upon whose soul, and all Christian souls, Jesus have mercy."

His four daughters before-mentioned were Joan, Catherine, and Ann, who all died young and unmarried; but Margaret, his fourth daughter, married Sir John Osbaldiston, of Lancashire.

This lord married to his second wife the most noble Margaret, daughter and heiress to John, Duke of Somerset; and widow of Edmund, Earl of Richmond; and the happy mother of King Henry VII. but by her had no issue.

This great and noble lord died in the year 1504, the nineteenth of Henry VII. and was suceeeded by Thomas, his grandson, eldest son of George Lord Strange, and his next heir. But, before I proceed further, I have some curious remarks and events to relate of the late very eminent lord, which I doubt not of being acceptable to the reader. As they have relation to his brother, Sir William Stanley, I request leave, by a short digression, to give you the history of that brave and gallant gentleman, who, to the great surprise of the world, suffered death by Henry VII. and then return to a further description of the great Earl of Derby's posterity and successors.

The first notice I meet with in the history of Sir William Stanley is, that he was second son of Thomas Lord Stanley, and brother to the aforesaid Earl of Derby; that his seat was at the castle of Holt, in the county of Flint;

and that the fourteenth of July, the ninth of Henry V. a writ was issued out to him and others, to call to an account John Leigh, of Booths, for an arrear of one hundred and forty pounds, due from him, as late sheriff of the county of Chester, to the king, and then unsatisfied. But the king dying that year, a new writ was issued to the same persons, against the said John Leigh, dated the sixth of Henry VI. to bring him to account for the very great arrears then due from him to the king, and yet unsatisfied.

As the world at this time are great strangers to the office of a sheriff in those days, and as this proceeding against that gentleman may appear novel to many readers, give me leave to observe, that the sheriffs of this county were at that time receivers of the king's rents, forfeitures, amercements, &c. and were looked upon as officers of high trust.

The next office of note I find Sir William advanced to was chamberlain of the city and county of Chester, by patent, bearing date the first of Edward IV. and continued therein to the tenth of Henry VII. Sir Peter Leicester thinks this Sir William was of Hooton, but speaks doubtfully of it. But I take it for granted, that Sir William Stanley, here spoken of, was brother to Thomas Earl of Derby; for I find upon search, that Sir William Stanley, of Hooton, his contemporary, and one of the king's carvers, was by patent of the twenty-sixth of February, in the fifth of Edward IV. made sheriff of Cheshire for life; and this appears to me to have confused Sir Peter, by the affinity of the name, and long continuance in office, not rightly distinguishing the men, nor the offices they severally executed.

We next meet Sir William Stanley at Bosworth field, where he found King Richard and the Earl of Richmond hotly engaged in battle, for the crown of England, and the victory doubtful, until he with fresh forces gave the honour of the day to the earl, and proclaimed him king.

Soon after this victory, King Henry took his journey

to London, where he was met and welcomed by the lord mayor and sheriffs, and many other principal citizens, by whom being attended, he went in great state to St. Paul's church, and there made an offering of three standards. The service of the church being over, he went to the bishop's palace; from whence, after some time, he went by water to Westminster, and there with great solemnity was anointed and declared king, by the style and title of Henry VII. and remained in profound peace for some time.

But these halcyon days were not of long duration; for one Lambert Simnel, by the persuasion and encouragement of his schoolmaster, Richard Simon, a priest, set up a title to the crown against King Henry, pretending to be Edward Earl of Warwick, eldest son of King Edward IV. and lately escaped out of the tower of London, where he had been imprisoned. He gained great credit with many of the nobility and gentry affected to the house of York, who were ready to take his part, and even saluted him king. The Earl of Lincoln and Lord Lovell, with many others, raised an army in his favour, which in a little time was defeated at Stoke, near Newark, by George Lord Strange and others.

Young Lambert and his tutor were taken prisoners, but both their lives spared; Lambert because but a child, and Simon because a priest, but kept prisoner for his life. Lambert was taken into the king's kitchen to turn the spit, in his turn of fortune, and at last made one of the king's falconers.

This impostor and his adherents being thus defeated, King Henry remained in peace to the year 1493, when the Dutchess of Burgundy, sister to King Edward IV. and an inveterate enemy to King Henry and the house of Lancaster, disturbed his peace, by setting up one Perkin Warbeck to personate and take upon him to be Richard, the younger son of Edward IV.

This Perkin made a great noise in the world, and stood

longer, being better supported, and more powerful than Simnel, having been sent by the dutchess to Portugal, from thence to Ireland, and thence to the court of France, where he was entertained as a prince, and had a guard assigned him. But at last returning to the Dutchess of Burgundy, his pretended aunt, who received him as such, and professed openly that he was her true nephew, she not only assigned him a guard of thirty persons, but clothed them in murrey and blue, and called him the white rose of England, which in time proved his overthrow; for, upon report thereof, many in England resorted to him. Amongst the rest Sir Robert Clifford, an old acquaintance of Sir William Stanley's, was sent by the party to acquaint the dutchess with the great respect the people of England had for Perkin. Upon sight and conference with him, Sir Robert wrote to his friends in England, that he knew him to be the true son of King Edward IV.

Upon this, King Henry, agreeable to his usual prudence, sent spies into Flanders, to discover the conspirators, and their whole design; and they having the ill luck to be known by their countrymen there, were all taken and put to death, except Sir Robert Clifford, who made his escape; and returning to England, submitted himself to the king's mercy, hoping, from the secrets he knew, and the discovery he was able to make of the open and private abettors of that conspiracy, to merit the king's pardon and favour.

Sir Robert Clifford, the better to ingratiate himself, accused his old friend Sir William Stanley, then lord chamberlain, affirming that in a conference betwixt them, touching the pretended son of Edward IV. Sir William should say, "That if he certainly knew the young man called Perkin to be really the son of Edward IV. he would never draw his sword, or bear arms against him."

These words being considered of by the judges, seemed to them to express a very fickle loyalty to King Henry; besides that, the uttering of such an expression was, in

itself, upon the matter found to be disloyal to the king; and withal struck upon a string which always sounded harsh in that king's ears, as preferring the title of York to that of Lancaster.

Sir William was hereupon arraigned, brought to the bar, and tried; and, whether trusting to the greatness of his service, the king's favour, his own innocency, or the lightness of his crime, his pleading was very slender, denying little of what he was charged with, and thereby, as it were, confessing guilty, was adjudged to die.

Accordingly, on the sixteenth day of February, 1495, he was brought to Tower Hill, in London, and there beheaded; and all his estate, real and personal, which was very great, was confiscated to the king. There are not wanting some who think this was as strong a motive to his death as any thing he ever said or did, avarice being, on many occasions, too visible in this king's administration, and to have had a large share in the prosecution of the aforesaid gentleman. For there were found in his castle of Holt, in the county of Flint, in Wales, forty thousand marks of money, besides plate, jewels, household-goods, and stock of cattle of great value; also a yearly income of old rents on land of £3000 per annum. By Joyce his wife, daughter of Edward Lord Powis, he had issue one son, named William, of whom more hereafter; also one daughter, named Jane, who married Sir John Warburton, of Arles, in the county of Chester, one of the knights of the body to King Henry VII.

This was that great Sir William Stanley who, of his own power and interest, raised and brought three thousand horse and foot to the rescue of that prince, when his life, honour, and hopes of a throne were all in visible danger, gave him victory, and crowned him king in the field.

How could it then enter into his head or heart to put him to death, who had done for him all that mortality could possibly do! saved his life, vanquished his enemies, and

given him a crown! and all his crime founded upon a doubtful and unguarded expression, reported by a treacherous friend; a rebel, and a traitor to his king, by his own confession; and to save his own life; and therefore should have been the less regarded, where the duty, loyalty, and most worthy actions of so deserving a subject were in competition with it.

From this unhappy event, mankind may learn how cautious they ought to be in opening their mind too freely, even to the most intimate friend, where the discovery may either touch or concern their life, reputation, liberty, interest, or peace of mind, when he shall think fit to disclose and aggravate their most innocent words and meanings, by a malicious and invidious construction.

But it may be said it was not the Earl of Richmond that did this, but the king of England. And I think it is a maxim, that the king in many cases is not at liberty to show mercy as a private person may. But be that as it will, beheaded he was, and from the pinnacle of honour on a sudden brought to the block. Shocking thought! that nothing less than loss of life could atone for words without actions, or even evil meaning, without a forced construction. On this occasion I may observe with a learned poet, that our God and soldier are alike adored, just at the brink of danger; and the danger over, they are often both alike requited; our God is forgotten, and our soldier slighted. Loss of favour, exile from court, and all public employments, might have been borne with; but death gave a short period to all his glory and most renowned performances for the public good, and the service of his king and country.

Death is the same to a coward as to the valiant man, but with this remarkable difference, in point of honour and everlasting fame,—the brave and gallant man falls in vindication of his prince, religion, laws, liberties, and country; the scoundrel abandons all in fear of losing a life that he neither deserves nor can save.

However, in deference to royal authority, give me leave to observe what has been offered in mitigation of his majesty's proceedings in this extraordinary and critical case, wherein it is said he underwent many struggles and conflicts of mind, forbearing six weeks after the accusation, before Sir William was brought to trial.

But it is probable other substantial reasons might be assigned for his majesty's concern and uneasiness in this point, to wit, as knowing the very great power of his brother the Earl of Derby, who had married his mother, and had been eminently serviceable to him; and who, on this melancholy occasion, had retired to his country seat; and that the grief and affliction that noble person must naturally lie under, for the untimely loss of so worthy and near a relation, (and seemingly on so slight an occasion) might produce a resentment prejudicial to his own safety and peaceable possession.

The king's future conduct seems to confirm the above reasons; for his majesty appearing desirous to justify himself to the world, and especially to this great lord, upon what ground, and for what reasons, he had taken off so valuable and eminent a person as Sir William Stanley, and to keep well with the said earl, resolved the ensuing summer to pay him and his mother a visit, at their seat of Latham, in Lancashire. Of which, Lord Derby being apprized, made suitable preparation for the reception and better accommodation of his majesty and his retinue, by enlarging his house at Knowsley by the stone building, and repairing and beautifying the other part, and also that of Latham.

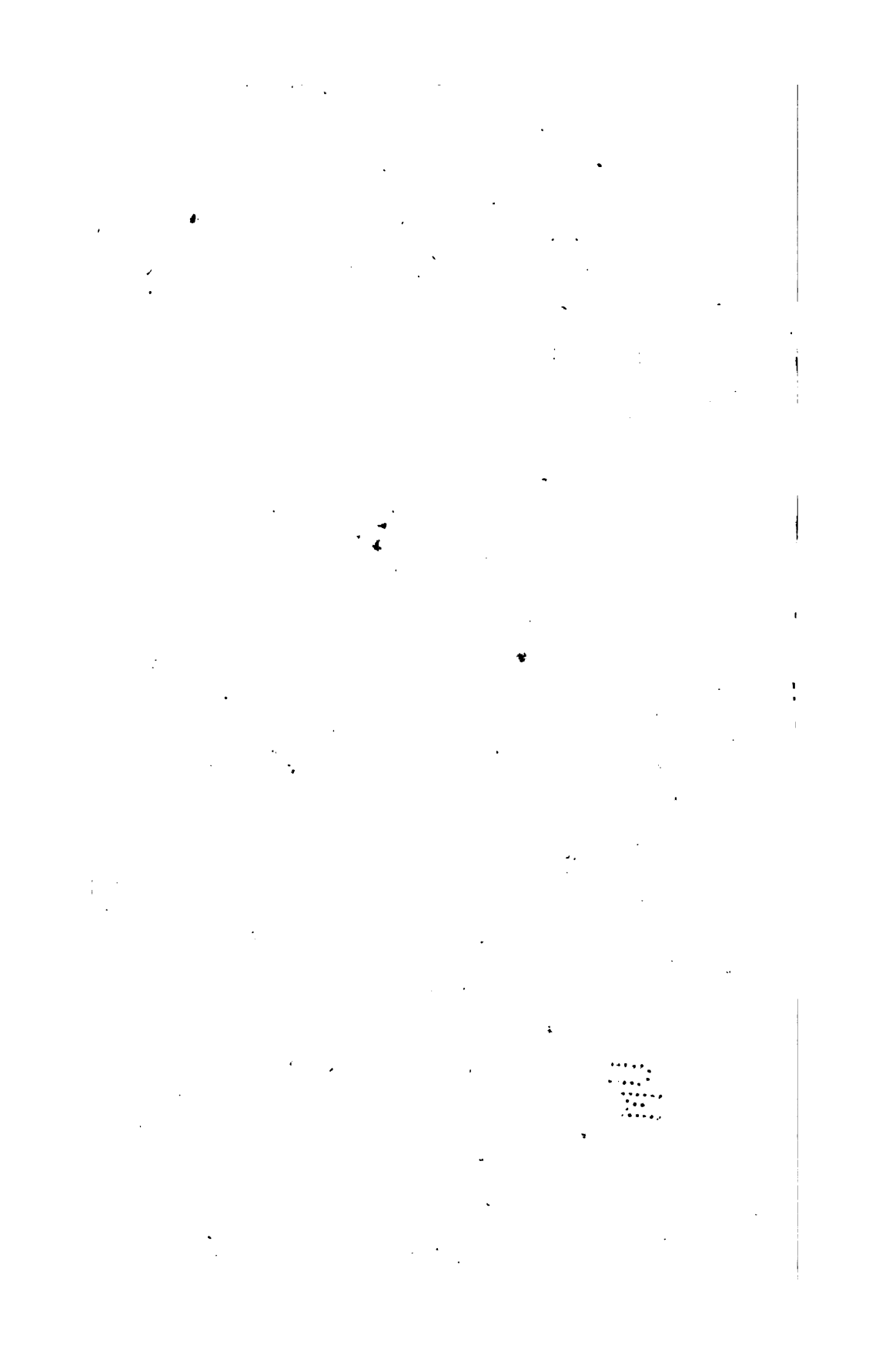
And considering that there was no certain or constant passage over the river Mersey to old Warrington, but by Latchford or Orford, and those very precarious, as well as dangerous, his lordship determined to build a bridge over that river, that his majesty might pursue his progress without stop or hazard. To effect which, he purchased a



HOOTON HALL.

The Family seat of the Hon. house of Stanley Earl of Derby.

Engd for Geo. F. Harvey's Edition.



road, from the cross-ways leading from Sankey and Winwick (now called Market-Gate,) to the river, through the field now called Bridge-Street; and at the bottom thereof erected a spacious stone bridge, and threw up a causeway across the marshes, to the rising ground on the Cheshire side; and kept the same in repair all his life, and his successors after him, to the time of William Earl of Derby, brother and successor to Earl Ferdinand, who refused to repair or amend the same.

The king arrived at Knowsley on or about the twenty-fourth of June, 1495, and from thence went to Latham. Having spent about a month with his mother and father-in-law, he returned to London, well satisfied with his reception.

Having now gone through what I had to observe of this noble lord, and his brother Sir William Stanley, with regard to the time of the public transaction before related, I shall now return to Thomas Lord Strange, eldest son of George, and grandson and successor to the above earl.

This noble lord succeeded his grandfather in the earldom of Derby, and had his livery of all the lands his father died seized of, the ninth of July, and nineteenth of Henry VII. and also of the Isle of Man.

In the twenty-third of Henry VII. on a treaty of marriage between the Lady Mary, third daughter to Henry VII. and the prince of Spain, the king binds himself to Maximilian, the emperor, for the performance thereof, when they should come to age, in 250,000 crowns; and that Henry, Prince of Wales, should do the same; also Thomas, Earl of Derby, and other nobles, were bound in 50,000 crowns for the like performance.

In the fifth of Henry VIII. he attended that king in his expedition to France, in which they won Therwain and Tourney, and obtained a glorious victory.

In the twelfth of Henry VIII. on the emperor's coming to England, and the king meeting him at Dover, this Earl

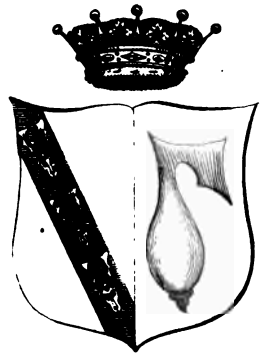
of Derby rode betwixt that monarch and the king from thence to Canterbury, bearing by the king's command the sword of state.

The year after, he was one of the peers that sat on the trial of the Duke of Buckingham, and was in most high esteem in all the country, as well as at court, where he was not only beloved but admired.

With regard to the Isle of Man, which I promised to take notice of in this lord's life, he wisely considered, that it was given to his ancestors by King Henry IV. the chief of the house of Lancaster, to whom and to whose posterity his family had been steady friends and adherents; but now that Edward IV. chief of the house of York, and his posterity, were come to the throne, it could be no less than the highest prudence, as well as policy, to drop a title which might one time or other occasion jealousy and mistrust between him and his prince, under whom he must claim that title; therefore to avoid all disputes, and even suspicion of inclining to favour one house more than the other, he contented himself to make use of no other title than Lord of Man and the Isles, which his successors have continued ever since.

This noble lord gave up his life the twenty-fourth of May following, the thirteenth of Henry VIII. at Colham, in the county of Middlesex, and was buried in the monastery of Sion, in that county, according to his will; by which he ordered his body to be buried in the priory of Bourscough, in the county of Lancaster, if he happened to die in that county; but if he died elsewhere, then to be buried in the said monastery of Sion, or in the college of Asherugg, in the county of Bucks, as his executors should think fit; and that his body should be buried according to his honour, but without pomp or excess.

And further, by the said will it appears, that he had four thousand marks with his lady on their marriage; and he bequeaths to his daughter, for her marriage portion,



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Pigot Sc.

£2066 13s. 4d.; and to his well-beloved brother, James Stanley, Esq. an annuity or annual rent of fifty pounds by the year, for his life, payable out of his manor or lordship of Bydston, in the county of Chester.

And whereas his uncle, Sir Edward Stanley, Knight, Lord Monteagle, enjoyed of his gift and grant the castle and demesnes of Hornby, and other manors, for the special love, trust, and kindness he then found and supposed he had for him, and which estates he held on certain conditions; he now wills that for the great unkindness he has since found, and does still find in his said uncle, and for that he has not observed or performed the said conditions, he should have none of the rents and profits thereof, but that the said gifts, grants, &c. be null and void.

And he further wills and appoints that his lieutenant of the Isle of Man, and other his officers and servants there, shall be continued till his heir comes of age; and that they have the wages they then had, for the term of their lives, and the said wages to be doubled to them till his said heir come of age.

And he constitutes for his executors his trusty friends Sir Hugh Hesketh, Bishop of Man; Sir Henry Halsal, steward of his household; Sir Henry Sherman, clerk, dean of his chapel; Thomas Hesketh, Esq. Sir Edward Molyneux, clerk, and parson of Sephton; Richard Hesketh, Richard Snede, gentlemen; and Richard Halsal, clerk, and parson of Halsal: but none of them shall give any release or acquittance without the consent and agreement of them all.

He appoints for supervisors of his will, Thomas, Lord Cardinal, Archbishop of York, and Chancellor of England; Hugh, Bishop of Exeter; Geoffrey, Bishop of Chester; John Vessey, clerk, dean of the most honourable chapel; and Thomas Lark, parson of Winwick.

By Ann, his wife, daughter of Edward Lord Hastings, [*see arms, fig.* 24, *plate* 3.] sister to George the first Earl

of Huntingdon of that name, he had issue three sons, George and Henry, who died young, and Edward, his successor, then in the fifteenth year of his age; also one only daughter, who after his death married Robert Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex.

As this noble lord hath in his will taken notice of his brother, James Stanley, Esq. and of his uncle, Sir Edward Stanley, Lord Monteagle, it may not be improper in this place, and during the minority of the young lord, his son, to relate what we have to observe of them.

Of James Stanley,* his brother, second son of George Lord Strange, I meet with little remarked of him, but that he had a son styled Sir George Stanley, marshal of Ireland; but by whom is not said. I conceive him to be ancestor to the Stanleys of Ireland.

And with regard to Sir Edward Stanley, his uncle, and fifth son of Thomas the first Earl of Derby, this gentleman's active childhood and martial spirit brought him early to King Henry VIII's notice and company, and his active manhood to his service. The camp was his school, and his learning was a pike and sword. His majesty's greeting to him, wherever they met, was, "Ho! my soldier."

Honour floated in his veins, and valour danced in his spirits; but no where more visibly, nor with greater courage, lustre, and magnanimity, than at the battle of Flodden field, in Scotland, the fifth of Henry VIII. where he commanded the rear of the English army, and was attacked by the Earls of Lenox and Argyle, both of whom were slain in the field, with the King of Scots himself; for, by his high accomplishments in the art of war, and by the valour of his archers, he forced the Scots to descend the hill, their strong hold, which caused them to open their ranks, whereby they were put into such disorder as gave the first hopes to that day's victory.

* Barlow's Hist.

The king of Scotland slain in this battle was the king that married Margaret, the eldest sister to King Henry VIII. from whom descended King James I. of England. There were slain in the battle, besides the king, three bishops, two abbots, twelve earls, seventeen lords, and a very great number of knights and gentlemen, amounting to about eight thousand, and near as many taken prisoners.

Upon this signal and most complete victory, obtained by the superior skill and conduct of the heroic Captain Stanley, he was highly advanced in the king's favour, as by the following gratulatory letter from the king to him upon the aforesaid victory.

"Right trusty and well-beloved,

"WE greet you well, and understand by the report of our right trusty cousin and counsellor the Duke of Norfolk, what acceptable service you, amongst others, did us by your valiant towardness in the assistance of our said cousin against our enemy the king of Scots; and how courageously you, as a very hearty loving servant, acquitted yourself for the overthrow of the said late king, and distressing of his malice and power, to our great honour, and the advancing of your no little fame and praise, for which we have good cause to favour and thank you; and so we full heartily do. And assured you may be, that we shall in such effectual wise remember your said service in any your reasonable pursuits, as you shall have cause to think the same right well employed, to our comfort and weal hereafter. Given under our signet, at our castle at Windsor, the seventeenth day of November, and fifth year of our reign."

Sir William Molyneux, of Sephton, had also the like gratulatory letter, on the same agreeable occasion, for his eminent services therein.

This most valiant and worthy gentleman appeared like the north star in its glory. He was a man of great command in Lancashire, the image of whose mind was as peculiar as the beautiful portrait of his body; nobly forgiving his enemies, if reconcileable; and refusing ignobly to be revenged of them, if obstinate. This noble nature, advanced by his heroic education, made him acceptable at court, as well as in the country, where his hospitality was renowned, his equity and prudence beloved, and his interest large and commanding. In him was seen the idea of the true English gentleman; in favour at court, in repute in the country, at once loved and feared. His usual saying was, "That he never saw fear but in the backs of his enemies." In a word, he lived in all capacities a public good, and died a common loss.

And here justice as well as respect to the ancient and worthy house of Norris, of Speke, calls upon me to acquaint the reader with the bravery of Sir Edward Norris, son of Sir William Norris, who was slain at the battle of Muslebarrow, in the time of Henry VII. This valiant and heroic gentleman, Sir Edward Norris, commanded a body of the army under General Stanley, at Flodden field, where he behaved with so much courage and good conduct, that he was honoured by the king with the like congratulatory letter above-mentioned, for his good service in the victory of that day; in token whereof he brought from the deceased king of Scot's palace, all or most of his princely library, many books of which are now at Speke, particularly four large folios, said to contain the records and laws of Scotland at that time, and worthy the perusal of the learned and judicious reader. He also brought from the said palace the wainscot of the king's hall, and put it up in his own hall at Speke; wherein are seen all the orders of architecture, as Tuscan, Dorie, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite, and round the top of it this inscription, "Sleep not till thou hast well considered how thou hast spent the

day past: if thou hast well done, thank God for't; if otherwise, repent you."

Having set forth the eminent and renowned behaviour of the martial sons of the two neighbouring and worthy houses of Molyneux and Norris, I cannot omit informing my reader that they came into England together with William Duke of Normandy, dignified with the honour of knighthood, and have hitherto made useful and leading members of the state, in their several stations of life. But am grieved now to tell him, that, as they came in together, they are in appearance likely to depart together, under the common change and mutability of all earthly beings, the name of one family being extinct, and the other in visible danger of becoming so in the same age.

With regard to these gentlemen's leader and chief commander, the brave Sir Edward Stanley, the king keeping his Whitsuntide, the year ensuing, at Eltham, in Kent, and Sir Edward being there, his majesty commanded, that for his valiant acts against the Scots, where he won the hill, relieved the English from their distress, and vanquished all that opposed him; also, for that his ancestors bore the eagle in their crest, he should be proclaimed Lord Monteagle, which was accordingly then and there done: upon which he gave to the officers of arms five marks, besides the accustomed fees; and likewise to Garter, principal king of arms, his fee. Whereupon he had special summons to parliament, the fifth of February the same year, by the title of Baron Stanley, Lord Monteagle.

Twice did he and Sir John Wallop land with only eight hundred men in the heart of France; and four times did he and Sir Thomas Lovell save Calais. The first time by intelligence, the second by stratagem, the third by valour and resolution, and the fourth by hardship, patience, and industry.

In the dangerous insurrection by Ashe and Captain Cobler, his zeal for his prince's service, and the welfare

of the state, was above scruple, and his army was with him before his commission; for which dangerous piece of loyalty he asked pardon, and received thanks.

Two things he did towards defeating the rebels, whose skill in arms exceeded his followers as much as his policy did their leaders: first he cut off their provisions, and next he stirred up jealousy and sedition amongst them; which gave his majesty time, by pretended treaties, to draw off the most eminent of the faction, and to confound the rest.

This most martial and heroic captain, soldier-like, lived for some time in the strange opinion, that the soul of man was like the winding up of a watch, that when the spring was run down the man died, and the soul determined.

But of this enthusiastic, heathenish, and brutish notion he was convicted by being informed, that the soul of man was a ray of divinity, clothed with flesh; and that what was divine could never die, but, upon the dissolution of the body, or unfitness for its continuance therein, the soul of man returned to the almighty Being who first gave it; according to the doctrine of Moses. "And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the earth, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul." Gen. ii. 7. Convinced of this divine truth, he afterwards lived and died in the fear and love of God, and in the belief and precepts of his redeemer the holy Jesus.

This noble lord married to his lady one of the daughters of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, [*see arms, fig.* 25, *plate* 3.] by his second wife, a daughter of Sir Anthony Brown, governor of Calais; and by her had issue a son named Thomas, who was some time Bishop of Man, by the title of Thomas Stanley, son of Edward the first Lord Monteagle. He sat as bishop of that island to the time of his father's death, and then becoming Lord Monteagle, he resigned that bishopric.

This Thomas Lord Monteagle married to his lady Ann, the daughter of Sir John Spencer, of Altrop, in the county

of Northampton; and by her had issue a son named William.

William his son, and grandson to Edward, was the last male issue of this noble family. He left at his death an only daughter and child named Elizabeth, but by whom history is silent; but record informs us, that she married to Edward Parker Lord Morley, and by him had issue a son named William.

This William was by King James I. created Lord Monteagle, by the title of Lord Morley and Monteagle; and must be allowed by us, and all posterity, to have been born for the good of the whole kingdom: for by an obscure letter sent to him, and by him produced to the king and council, in the very nick of time, a discovery was made of the most detestable treason that malice and wickedness could possibly contrive or project. For it being known that the king was to come to the house of peers, to pass some bills, this dark and enigmatical letter insinuated, that the king and the whole house were to be destroyed in a moment.

On close search round the house of lords, there was discovered an unknown cellar under it, wherein was lodged a large quantity of gunpowder, and a person ready, with a candle in a dark lanthorn, to set fire to the train, upon a signal given him. Thus by the good providence of God, and the caution taken, was prevented the destruction of the king, and the flower of all the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, when just upon the very brink of ruin.

Having here finished the remarks we proposed, let us return to Edward, the young son of Thomas the second Earl of Derby, whom his father supposed he had left under the care and ward of the most hopeful and promising trustees, being no less than nine ecclesiastics, and four laygentlemen; by which he judged sufficient security was provided for his son's right, and the preservation of the immense estate he had left him.

But such is the pride, avarice, and depravity of human nature, that the greatest caution mankind can possibly take, oftentimes proves too slender to procure justice and equity, when private interest and advantage come in competition with them. An instance of which will appear in the case before us.

No sooner was the said noble lord laid at rest, but the most dignified of his choice (whom the world might justly have expected the most consummate justice and rectitude from) immediately made himself friend of the mammon of unrighteousness; and instead of fulfilling the trust reposed in him, took care to divest his young pupil of his just right, by securing to himself several large manors in the county of Lincoln and elsewhere, which the earl his father had held from the crown, by lease for life; which expiring on his death, the good and pious cardinal wisely took the opportunity of his ward's minority to procure grants thereof to himself. This brings to my mind an old maxim in the economy of life, viz. "He that trusteth to a lord for his honour, and to a priest for his charity, is in danger of being deceived by the first, and starved by the latter." The verity whereof the noble lord before-mentioned had an ample specimen of in both the characters, in the person of Cardinal Wolsey, Archbishop of York, and lord chancellor of England, and his most worthy trustee.

In the nineteenth of Henry VIII. this young lord, being then of age, was one of the principal persons appointed to attend the same Cardinal Wolsey in that remarkable embassy to Francis, King of France, then at Amiens, touching the making a war in Italy, to set Pope Clement VII. at liberty, at that time a prisoner to the Duke of Bourbon, upon his sacking of Rome.

In the twenty-second of Henry VIII. having then livery of his lands, was one of those noble peers that subscribed that memorable letter or declaration to the same Pope Clement VII. representing, that having for a long time

expected his answer concerning the king's marriage, they were obliged to repeat their request, although the justice of the cause, and the approbation of the learned of the most celebrated universities in Europe, were sufficient, without any entreaties, to prevail on his holiness to confirm the sentence of the divorce of Queen Catharine, which King Henry then desired. And if he should refuse, his supremacy in England would be in great danger; and that they could make no other construction of it, but that they were left to seek their remedy elsewhere.

In the twenty-fourth of Henry VIII. he waited on that king at his interview with the French king at Bologne. And in the same year, on the coronation of Queen Ann Bullen, he in his own barge attended her from Greenwich; on which occasion, he, with the Marquis of Dorset, were made knights of the bath. After the ceremony was over he was cup-bearer to that queen.

In the twenty-eighth of Henry VIII. on the insurrection of the northern men, called the 'pilgrimage of grace,' the king directed his letters to this earl, to raise what forces he could, promising therein to repay all his charges; and, as Mr. Hollingshead observes, by the faithful diligence of the Earl of Derby, with the forces of Lancashire and Cheshire, they were kept back, and brought to peace and quiet, though they were a very great number out of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the north parts of Lancashire.

The thirty-third of that king he marched into Scotland with the Duke of Norfolk, with an army of twenty thousand men, where, meeting with little or no resistance, they burned several towns and villages, and so returned to England.

In the thirty-eighth of that king, when the High Admiral of France, accompanied by the Bishop of Eureaux, the Earl of Nantville, the Earl of Villars, and others, came on a splendid embassy to England, the Earl of Derby, by the king's command, received them at Blackwall, and

conducted them to his majesty at Greenwich. On the death of King Henry, and the accession of Prince Edward his son, by the title of King Edward VI. the Earl of Derby, and the Marquis of Dorset, (afterwards Duke of Suffolk,) were on the twenty-second of May, 1547, elected knights of the most noble order of the garter.

In the fourth of King Edward VI. the Earl of Derby was one of the peers party to the articles of peace, made by King Edward with the Scots and French, wherein the emperor was also included.

In the sixth of this king, he made an exchange with his majesty of his house called Derby House, on St. Bennet's Hill, near Doctors' Commons, London, built by Thomas the first Earl of Derby, for certain lands adjoining to his park at Knowsley, in the county of Lancaster, of which he was lieutenant during this king's reign.

After the above exchange, he purchased a piece of land, in Channon Row, near Westminster, and thereon erected a new house, and called it Derby House, which being since sold by William Earl of Derby, elder brother to the late Earl James, is built into a court called Derby Court.

Upon the death of King Edward, and Queen Mary's accession to the throne, he was, in the first year of that queen, appointed lord high-steward of England,* for the day of her majesty's coronation, which was performed on the fifth of October that year, with great solemnity. And upon advice of her majesty's appointment, he set out from his seat of Latham, in the county of Lancaster, to attend her majesty, on the eighteenth of August, most nobly attended, having upwards of eighty esquires, all clad in velvet, and two hundred and eighteen servants in liveries, with whom he arrived at his new house, in Channon Row, Westminster, in the greatest pomp and magnificence.

In the year 1557, he received orders from the queen and

* Sept. 29, 1553.

council to muster what forces he could raise, to march against the Scots, then assisted by the French king, which he readily complied with. He was one of the noblemen that attended Philip, Prince of Spain, on his landing in England, to be married to Queen Mary, who, before her marriage, gave the house on St. Bennet's Hill, London, called Derby House, and now in the crown, by virtue of the above exchange, to Gilbert Dethick, then Garter and principal king of arms; Thomas Hauley, Clarencieux, king of arms of the south parts; William Harvey, alias Norroy, king of arms of the north parts; and the other heralds and pursuivants of arms, and to their successors, all the capital messuage or house called Derby House,* with the appurtenances, situate in the parish of St. Bennet and St. Peter, then being in the tenure of Sir Richard Sackville, knight, and parcel of the lands of Edward Earl of Derby; to the end that the said kings, heralds, and pursuivants of arms, and their successors, might dwell together, and meet, confer, and agree among themselves, for the good government of their faculty; and that their records might be more safely kept, &c. Dated the eighteenth day of July, in the third year of Philip and Mary, 1555.

Upon the above Queen Mary's death, and Queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne, although she knew the Earl of Derby to have been one of the late queen's privy council, yet she was so well apprized and satisfied of his justice, prudence and loyalty, that she appointed him one of her privy council; and in the first year of her reign, gave him, and others of that body, commission to take particular care that all persons enjoying any office or place of trust, under her majesty, should take the oaths of supremacy.

In the same year of that gracious queen he had granted to him, by patent, the high office of chamberlain of Ches-

* Now the college of arms.

ter, for six years; and the next year was made one of her majesty's most honourable privy council.

But about this time, being aged, weak, and infirm, he retired to his seat of Latham, and there gave up his life to the almighty Author of his being; and, with humble resignation, submitted himself to his divine will.

By his will, bearing date the twenty-fourth of August, 1572, he bequeathed his body to be buried in the parish church of Ormskirk, in the county of Lancaster; and ordered that a chapel should be there erected, and a tomb prepared for that purpose, agreeable to his honour and dignity, which hath ever since been the common repository of his family and successors; the ancient monastery of Burscough, where his ancestors were laid, being totally demolished in the dissolution of abbeys and monasteries. Departing this life at Latham, on Friday the twenty-fourth of October following, his body lay in state to the fourth of December next, during which time were made all necessary preparations for his noble prince-like funeral, as hereafter.

In which interval, give me leave to relate his marriages and issue, with his sumptuous and hospitable manner of living, exceeding most, if not all the noblemen in England of the time he lived in, and even since.

This noble earl married three wives: first, Dorothy, one of the daughters of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, by whom he had issue three sons and four daughters, to wit, Henry, his first son; Thomas, his second son; and Edward, his third son: of all which in their order. Ann, his first daughter, married Charles Lord Stourton; and he dying and leaving her a widow, she married Sir John Arundel, of Lamborn, in the county of Cornwall. Elizabeth, his second daughter, married Henry Lord Morley. Mary, his third daughter, Edward Lord Stafford. And Jane, his fourth daughter, Edward Lord Dudley.

To his second wife he married Margaret, the daughter of Ellis Barlow, of Barlow, in the county of Lancaster,

Esq. and by her had issue one son and two daughters, to wit, George, who died young and unmarried; Margaret, his eldest daughter, married John Jermin, of Ruthbrook, in the county of Suffolk, Esq. and after his decease Sir Nicholas Ponitz; and Catharine, his youngest daughter, married Sir John Knivet.

To his third wife he married Mary, the daughter of Sir George Cotton, of Combermere, in the county of Chester, by whom he had no issue. After his decease, Mary, his widow, married Henry Earl of Kent.

Henry, his eldest son, succeeded him in honour and estate; of whom more hereafter.

Sir Thomas Stanley, his second son, married Margaret, one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir George Vernon, of Haddon, in the county of Derby, by whom he had issue a son named Edward; on which occasion he made the following settlement by deed, bearing date the fourth of Elizabeth, wherein it is declared, "That the several manors and lands lying in the counties of Warwick, Devon, and Oxford, also Dunham-Massey, Bowden, Rungey, Hale, Æton, and Darfield, in the county of Chester, now the estate of him the said Edward Earl of Derby, shall appertain and belong to Sir Thomas Stanley, his said second son, for life. Remainder, as a moiety, to Lady Margaret his wife, for life; remainder of all to the said Edward Stanley their son for life; remainder in Sale-male to Henry, the first son of him the said earl; ramainder to the heirs male of the said Sir Thomas Stanley; remainder to the heirs male of the said Edward Stanley, son of the said Sir Thomas and Dame Margaret his lady."

This Edward Stanley, the son, became, after the death of his father, Sir Edward Stanley, of Ensham, in the county of Oxford, and possessor of all the said manors and lands, by virtue of the said settlement; of whom more hereafter in due place.

Edward Stanley, the third son of the said earl, was a

gentleman of the army, in the service of Queen Elizabeth, under the command of the brave Earl of Leicester, in Holland; where, at the siege of Zulphen, he acquired great reputation by a most uncommon action of valour and undaunted courage. In the attack of a fort of the said town, a Spaniard brandishing his lance at him, he caught hold of it, and held so fast, that he was drawn up by it into the fort; at which the garrison was so intimidated, (supposing all the enemy were following him,) that they fled, and left the fort to him; for which hardy and valiant action the Earl of Leicester knighted him, and gave him forty pounds in hand, and a yearly pension of one hundred marks, payable in England, during his life.

It is observed by the learned, that

"The fortunate have whole years,
And those they choose;
But the unfortunate have only days,
And those they lose."

For who could imagine that so gallant a man, and so well rewarded as he was, could forget his duty to his sovereign, and take up arms against her in favour of Spain, whither he was obliged to fly, and die in exile and disgrace, either not knowing or forgetting the Spanish proverb, which they verified in him by slight and contempt, viz. "That they love the treason, but hate the traitor."

Having here given the reader the marriages and issue of the noble peer aforesaid, and the marriages and issue of his sons and daughters, or other disposal of them, by death or otherwise; let us now attend his funeral obsequies, which were ordered with the greatest magnificence, a particular description whereof I met with, in the hands of an obscure person near us, and may prove acceptable to all, as well as entertaining to the curious, a transcript whereof I shall give verbatim.

After his decease his body was wrapped in searcloth, then in lead, and then chested. The chapel and the house, with the two courts, were hung with black cloth, garnished with escutcheons of his arms; and on Saturday before the funeral, the body was brought into the chapel, where it was covered with a pall of black velvet, garnished with escutcheons of arms, and thereon was set his coat of arms, helmet and crest, sword and target, and about him was placed the standard, great banner, and six bannerets.

On Thursday in the morning before the sermon, Henry, then Earl of Derby, his son and successor, being present, with the esquires and gentlemen his attendants, and the three chief officers of his house, to wit, his steward, treasurer, and comptroller, standing about the body, with white staves in their hands, Clarencieux, king of arms, with his rich coat on, published this thanksgiving and style of the defunct, in form following:

All honour, laud, and praise, to almighty God, who through his divine goodness hath taken out of this transitory world, to his eternal joy and bliss, the Right Honourable Edward, Earl of Derby, Lord Stanley and Strange, and Lord of Man and the Isles, chamberlain of Chester, one of the lords of her majesty's most honourable privy council, and knight companion of the most noble order of the garter.

Next, of the manner and order of the hearse, wherein the body lay during the service.

At Ormskirk, in Lancashire, two miles from Latham, was erected a stately hearse of five principals, thirty feet in height, twelve feet in length, and nine feet in breadth, double railed, and garnished in the order and manner following.

First, the top parts and the rails covered with black cloth; the valance and principals covered with velvet; to the valance a fringe of silk; the majesty being of taffety, lined with buckram, had thereon, most curiously wrought

in gold and silver, the achievement of his arms, with helmet, brest, supporters and motto, and four buckram escutcheons in metal; the top garnished with escutcheons and jewels in metal; six great burial paste escutcheons at the four corners; and at the uppermost part, the valance set forth with small escutcheons of his arms, on buckram in metal, with the garter; the rails and posts also garnished with escutcheons, wrought in gold and silver, on paper royal.

The hearse was placed between the choir and the body of the church, which church was also hung throughout with black cloth, escutcheons also being set thereon, not only his own arms within the garter, but also impaled with the three countesses his wives. And this being finished by Wednesday at night before the burial, the order of proceeding on Thursday (being the day appointed) was in manner following:

I.

Two yeomen conductors, with black staves in their hands, to lead the way.

Morgan ap Roberts. Tho. Botel.

II.

Then all the poor men in gowns, two and two, to the number of one hundred.

III.

Then the choir and singing-men, to the number of forty, in their surplices.

IV.

An esquire bearing the standard, with his hood on his head, and horse trapped to the ground, garnished with a shaffron of his arms within the garter on his forehead, and four escutcheons of buckram metal, on each side two.

Peter Stanley.

V.

Then the defunct's gentleman, mounted on comely geld-

ings, in their gowns, and hoods on their shoulders, to the number of eighty.

VI.

Then the defunct's two secretaries riding together, as the other gentlemen afore.

Gilbert Moreton. Gabriel Mason.

VII.

Then the knights and esquires in like order, two and two, in number fifty.

VIII.

Then the defunct's two chaplains, with hoods on their shoulders, according to their degrees.

Bachelor of Divinity. Master of Arts.

IX.

The preacher, being the Dean of Chester, his horse trapped, and a doctor's hood on his shoulders.

Doctor Longworth.

X.

Then the defunct's three chief officers of his household, to wit, the steward, treasurer, and comptroller, with white staves in their hands, and hoods on their shoulders, and their horses trapped.

William Massey. Sir Richard Sherborne. Henry Stanley.

XI.

Then an esquire, bearing the great banner of his arms, with his hood on his head, and his horse trapped and garnished with escutcheons, as before.

Edward Norris.

XII.

A herald of arms, with his hood on his head, his horse trapped as aforesaid, wearing the defunct's coat of arms of damask; and bearing his helmet of steel, pannel gilt; with mantles of black velvet, the knots gilt; and on a wreath or torce of his colours stood his crest, curiously carved, painted, and wrought in gold and silver.

Lancaster Herald.

XIII.

Then a king of arms, with his hood on his head, wearing his coat of arms, richly embroidered with the arms of England, his horse trapped and garnished as aforesaid, bearing the shield of arms of the defunct, within the garter, and thereon a coronet.

Norroy king of arms.

XIV.

Then another king of arms, riding in like order, bearing the defunct's sword, with the pommel upwards, the hilt and chape gilt, with a scabbard of velvet.

Clarencieux.

XV.

After them another king of arms, riding in like order, bearing another of the defunct's coat of arms, being wrought as before-mentioned.

Garter, George Leigh, Esq.

XVI.

Then on the left side of him rode a gentleman usher, with a white rod in his hand, his horse trapped, and his hood on his head.

Edward Scasebrick.

XVII.

Then the chariot wherein the body lay was covered with black velvet, garnished with escutcheons, drawn by four horses, trapped with black. On each horse was placed four escutcheons, and a shaffron of his arms; and on each horse sat a page, in a black coat, and a hood on his head. On the fore seat of the chariot sat a gentleman usher in his gown, with his hood on his head, and a white rod in his hand. And next, about the body, it being in the chariot, rode four esquires, being assistants to the body, their hoods on their heads, and horses trapped to the ground.

Robert Baxter, R. Bradshaw,
Robert Dalton, John Preston.

XVIII.

And on the outside of them, about the chariot, six other esquires, their hoods on their heads, and their horses trapped; each of them bearing a banneret, not only of the defunct's arms, but also the arms of such noble houses whereof he was descended, viz. the arms of Thomas, the first Earl of Derby of that name, Lord Stanley and of Man, impaled with the arms of Eleanor his wife, daughter of Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, and sister to Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury.

XIX.

The second banneret was of George Lord Stanley and Strange, the son and heir of the said Thomas, impaled with the arms of Jane his wife, daughter and heiress of John Lord Strange, of Knocking.

XX.

And the third banneret was of the arms of Thomas, the second Earl of Derby of that name, Lord Stanley and Strange, and of Man, impaled with the arms of Anne his wife, daughter of Edward Lord Hastings, and sister to George Hastings, the first Earl of Huntingdon of that name.

XXI.

The fourth banneret was the arms of the defunct, impaled with the arms of Dorothy his first wife, daughter of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, Earl of Surry, and Earl Marshal of England. Lord Mowbray, Seagrave, and Bruce.

XXII.

On the fifth banneret, the defunct's arms, impaled with the arms of Margaret his second wife, daughter of Ellis Barlow, of Barlow, Esq.

XXIII.

And on the sixth banneret, the defunct's arms, impaled with the arms of Mary his third wife, daughter of Sir George Cotton, Knight, Vice-Chamberlain to King Edward VI.

XXIV.

Next after the chariot proceeded the chief mourner, in the mourning robes of an earl; and on each side of him rode a gentleman usher, with white rods in their hands, their hoods on their heads, and their horses trapped.

Richard Ashton, Marmaduke Newton, gent. ushers.

Henry, Earl of Derby, chief mourner.

XXV.

On the left side of him, and somewhat behind, rode the gentleman of horse to the defunct, his hood on his head, his horse trapped, and leading in his hand the horse of estate, all covered and trapped with black velvet.

John Ormston.

XXVI.

Next after rode eight other mourners, being assistants to the chief mourner, their hoods on their shoulders and heads, and their horses trapped with fine cloth to the ground.

John Lord Stourton,	——— Ratcliff, Esq.
Sir Rowland Stanley,	Alexander Rigby,
Sir Pierce Leigh,	Alexander Barlow,
——— Butler, Esq.	William Stopford, Esq.

XXVII.

Then a yeoman bareheaded, in a black coat, on foot.

XXVIII.

Then two sons of the principal mourners in gowns, and hoods on their shoulders, each of them having a gentleman to lead their horses.

William Stanley, Esq. Francis Stanley, Esq.

XXIX.

Then two yeomen ushers, with white rods, on foot.

XXX.

Then the defunct's yeomen, two and two, to the number of five hundred.

XXXI.

Then all the gentlemen's servants, two and two; and thus being wiffled all the way, by certain yeomen in black

coats, with black staves in their hands, proceeded to the church door, where their servants attended to receive their horses. Then being dismounted, all the gentlemen that preceded the corpse entered the church, and received their places according to their degrees, leaving the hundred poor men without the church, on each side of the way.

Then the body was taken out of the chariot by eight gentlemen in gowns, with hoods on their heads, and assisted by four yeomen in black coats, and borne into the hearse, where it was orderly placed upon a table three feet high, covered with black cloth; and upon him was not only laid a pall of black velvet, but also his coat of arms, sword and target, helmet and crest.

Taken out of the chariot by William Oriel, Jasper North, Francis Banes, John Meare, Thomas Starkey, John Byron, Edmund Winstanley, James Bradshaw, gents.

And thus the body being placed, the principal mourner entered the hearse, where was prepared for him, at the head of the defunct, a stool, with a carpet and four cushions of black velvet to kneel and lean upon.

Then entered the other eight mourners, and took their places within the uttermost part of the hearse, on each side of the body, four on one side, and four on the other, each of them having a cushion of black velvet to lean upon, and their stools covered with black cloth, and a cushion of the same to kneel upon. At the feet of the defunct, without the rails, stood the two esquires, holding the standard and great banner; and on each side of the hearse, the other esquires, with the bannerets. Behind the principal mourner stood three kings of arms, and the four gentlemen ushers; and between the standard, and at the great banner, stood Lancaster herald of arms, wearing the defunct's coat of arms.

And thus the body being placed, and every other estate according to their degree, Norroy, king of arms, pro-

nounced the style of the defunct as before-mentioned; which ended, the dean of Chester began his sermon, and after the sermon the vicar began the commemoration; and after the epistle and gospel, the offering was commenced in manner following:

First, Henry, now Earl of Derby, being principal mourner, did offer at the altar for the defunct, a piece of gold, having before him Garter, Clarencieux, and Norroy, king of arms; and Lancaster herald of arms; and on each side of Garter a gentleman usher, and esquire, to bear the chief mourner's train.

And after him did proceed the other eight mourners, two and two, according to their degree; and in like order he, with the other mourners, repaired to their places, where he remaining a small time, went to offer for himself, having Clarencieux and Lancaster herald only before him; and thus having offered, stayed between the vicar and Lancaster herald of arms, to receive the achievements of his father, offered up by the other eight mourners in manner and form following:

First, the Lord Stourton and Sir Rowland Stanley offered up the coat of arms, having before them Clarencieux, king of arms.

Secondly, Sir Peter Leigh, Knt. and Thomas Butler, Esq. offered the sword, bearing the pommel forward, having before them Norroy, king of arms.

Thirdly, John Ratcliffe and Alexander Barlow, Esqrs. offered the target of his arms, and before them went Clarencieux.

Fourthly, Alexander Rigby and William Stopford, Esqrs. offered the helmet and crest, having before them Norroy, king of arms.

Which ended, the principal mourner repaired to his seat, and on each side of him a gentleman usher, and his train borne by an esquire, and before him Clarencieux, king of arms, where he remained until the offering was ended.

Then offered the other eight mourners for themselves, viz.

The Lord Stourton and Sir Rowland Stanley, having before them Clarencieux, king of arms.

Then Sir Peter Leigh, Knt. and Thomas Butler, Esq. and before them Norroy, king of arms.

Then John Ratcliffe and Alexander Barlow, Esqrs. having before them Clarencieux, king of arms.

Then Alexander Rigby and William Stopford, Esqrs. having before them blue mantle pursuivant of arms.

Thus when the principal mourner and the eight mourners assistants had offered, and were placed again as aforesaid, then offered the four esquires, assistants to the defunct, having before them Lancaster herald of arms.

Then the standard offered by the esquire that bore it, and before him blue mantle pursuivant of arms.

Then the great banner offered by the esquire that bore it, and before him blue mantle pursuivant of arms.

Which standard and banners being offered by them as aforesaid, they put off their hoods, and took their places amongst the rest of the mourners, being gentlemen.

Then offered the steward, treasurer, and comptroller, with their white staves in their hands, and Lancaster herald of arms before them.

Then offered all the other knights, esquires, and gentlemen, wearing black, proceeding in order two and two, according to their degrees.

Then offered the yeomen ushers, and after them the defunct's yeomen two and two.

And thus the offering ended. The hundred poor men were placed to proceed homeward on foot, and after them the knights, esquires, and gentlemen, on horseback; then Garter, principal king of arms, the principal mourner, with the other eight mourners, two and two; then the yeomen on foot, two and two.

The Burial.

After whose departure presently the body was by the eight gentlemen, and four yeomen aforesaid, carried to the grave; and before it, Clarencieux and Norroy, king of arms, and Lancaster herald of arms; and above the body, the four assistants and the six esquires bearing the bannerets.

After the body went the steward, treasurer, and comptroller, with two gentlemen ushers, and two yeomen ushers; who, when the body was buried, kneeling on their knees, with weeping and tears broke their white staves and rods over their heads, and threw the shivers into the grave. That done, the six esquires delivered up the six bannerets, which were presented with the rest of the achievements, orderly placed over, and about him; and so the said officers departed to Latham hall, where they received their offices and staves again of their new earl, now their lord and master.

Having now brought this great and honourable earl to his last home, the grave, let us not bury him there in total oblivion, but with Sir William Dugdale, Mr. Cambden, Mr. Hollingshead, and especially Mr. Stow, lament his death, and not quite forget the memory of so eminent and noble a servant to his prince and country, but endeavour to transmit to posterity, for their example and imitation, his most renowned, steady, and faithful behaviour and conduct, under two kings and two queens, as well in peace as in war.

It appears from all our historians, that he lived in the greatest splendour and magnificence, without any dependance on the court. His greatness supported his goodness, and his goodness endeared his greatness. His height was looked upon with a double aspect: by himself, as an advantage of beneficence; and by others, of reverence. His great birth raised him above private respect, but his great soul never above public service.

He was kind to his tenants, liberal to his servants, generous to his friends, and hospitable to strangers. He was famous for housekeeping, and his extensive charity; insomuch that Queen Elizabeth would jestingly say, that he and my Lord of Bedford made all beggars by their liberality.

His house was orderly and regular; a college of discipline, instruction, and accomplishment, rather than a palace for entertainment, his and his lady's servants being so many young gentlemen and ladies, trained up to govern themselves by their example, who they knew understood themselves perfectly.

His provisions were natural, and provided of his own stock; rather plentiful than various, solid than dainty; that cost him less, and contented more. His table was constant and even, where all were welcome, and none invited. His hall was commonly full, his gates always; the one with the honest gentry and yeomen, who were his retainers in love and observance, bringing good stomachs to his table, and resolved hearts for his service; the other with the aged, decrepid, and industrious poor, whose cravings were prevented with doles and expectation; the first being provided with meat, the second with money, and the third with labour.

In the northern insurrection against her majesty Queen Elizabeth, he offered to raise ten thousand men at his own charge, for the suppressing thereof; but his appearance in the field was sufficient, the holding up of his hand being as effectual as the displaying of a banner. In a word, Mr. Cambden observes, that hospitality lieth buried in this earl's grave, (1572 the time of his death,) from whence may the divine power raise it and all mankind to everlasting bliss, when there will be no poor to be relieved, nor bounty wanted to relieve.

He had two hundred and twenty servants in a chequeroll for forty-two years. Twice a day sixty aged and decrepid poor were fed with meat; and on every Good

Friday, for thirty-five years, he fed two thousand seven hundred persons with meat, drink, and money. Every gentleman in his service had a man and horse to attend him: and his allowance for the expence of his house only, was four thousand pounds a year, besides the produce of his two large parks, and very great demesnes; insomuch, that his house was styled the northern court. Neither was he munificent upon other men's charge; for once a month he looked into his income, and once a week into his disbursements, that none should wrong him, nor be wronged by him. The Earl of Derby, he would say, "should keep his own house: and that frugality, justice, and good management, might as well consist with greatness, as length with breadth."

Therefore it was observed of him and the second Duke of Norfolk, that, when they were dead, not a tradesman could demand the payment of a groat that they owed him, nor a neighbour the restitution of a penny that they had wronged him of.

It is a maxim that the grass groweth not where the grand signior's horse treads, nor do the people thrive where the noblemen inhabit: but here every tenant was a gentleman, and every gentleman my lord's companion; such his civility towards the one, and his kind usage of the other.

Noblemen in those days esteemed the love of their neighbour more than their riches, and the service and fealty of their tenants more than their money. He would commonly say, Let the underwood grow: the tenants are the support of a family; and the commonalty are the strength of the kingdom. Improve thriftily, but force not violently, either your bounds or rents, above your forefathers. Two things he abominated; depopulating enclosures, and avaricious and unworthy enhancement of rents.

But now the landlord hath the sweat of the tenant's brow in his coffers; then he had the best blood in his veins at his command. The grand word with this noble peer

was, on my honour, which was esteemed sufficient security for any engagement whatsoever, and was the only asseveration he used. It was his privilege that he needed not swear for a testimony, and his renown that he would not for his honour.

Great was this exalted family's esteem with the people, and eminent their favour with their sovereign, which was ever employed in obliging their liege people, improving their interest, and supporting their throne; for though they had a long time been kings of Man, and with the hearts of the people, yet were they as long faithful subjects to England. In a word, he had no sloth or neglect to be surprised, no vanity of discourse to lose his master, no partiality to be biassed, no discontent to satisfy, nor no passion to be misguided: in fine he lived in all capacities a public good, and died a common loss; leaving in his family that best legacy a good example, and in his country that lasting monument a good name.

The late very great and eminent lord, whose prudence, conduct, and most remarkable life and actions we have been just describing and treating of, was succeeded in his honours and immense estate by his eldest son Henry, Lord Stanley and Strange, of Knocking, who after his father's decease was fourth Earl of Derby of this family, and was summoned to parliament, and took his seat in the most honourable house of peers, the eighth of February after his father's decease.

Being a nobleman in sedate years, great learning, exalted genius, and consummate experience in all the maxims and policy of public as well as private life, he made an early figure at court, when his royal mistress was pleased to distinguish and promote him by marks of her princely favour, as knowing him to be a person of the utmost probity, undoubted loyalty, and steady adherence to her person, interest, and government. In token whereof she dignified him with the honour of the garter, and constantly

made choice of, and preferred him in all momentous and critical affairs of state, as one whom she could rely on as her trusty friend and faithful servant.

The next appearance whereof was by sending him at the head of a commission (with some other peers) to Flanders, to treat of a peace with the Prince of Parma, then general to the king of Spain, with whom her majesty had been long at enmity.

Soon after his return from that country, the queen was pleased to honour him with carrying the ensigns of, and investing the king of France with, the most noble order of the garter.

The twenty-ninth of her reign, her majesty was pleased to appoint him, by her royal commission, to be (with some other peers) one of the judges for the trial of Mary, queen of Scots, then a prisoner in the castle of Fotheringhay, in the county of Northampton, where she was arraigned, tried, and adjudged to die; and was there, accordingly, beheaded.

Some time after that transaction, in the year 1564, her majesty determined to honour the ancient university of Cambridge with her royal presence; in order to which she was pleased to appoint this noble earl and his lady to attend her progress thither, where they arrived on Saturday the fifth of August the same year: and on the queen's entrance into that college, the countess of Derby was preferred to bear up her majesty's train.

Likewise on that queen's visitation of her university of Oxford, this noble earl was appointed to attend her majesty's person and progress to that place, where on Friday the sixth of September, 1566, his lordship was complimented by that learned body with the degree of master of arts.

In the thirty-second of the same queen, he was by special commission constituted lord high-steward of England, and sole judge for the trial of Philip, Earl of Arundel, for treason.

In the year 1588, the queen was graciously pleased to grant to him by patent, for five years, the high office of lord-chamberlain of Chester.

Some time after this he determined to visit his Isle of Man; and in order thereto came to his house at Liverpool, called the Tower, where waiting a while for a passage, the corporation* did themselves the honour to compliment him, by erecting, and adorning in a rich manner, a sumptuous stall or seat for his reception at church, where he several times honoured them by his presence there.

Upon his return from the island he retired to his seat at Latham, and I do not find he appeared at court any more; for by his will, bearing date the twenty-first of September, 1594, he ordered his body to be buried in his chapel at Ormskirk; and departed this life at Latham, the twenty-fifth of the same month, and was deposited in the said vault, according to his desire.

This noble lord married to his lady Margaret, the only daughter of Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, [*see arms, fig.* 26, *plate* 3.] by his wife Eleanor, one of the daughters and coheiresses of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, by Mary, queen dowager of France, and younger sister to King Henry VIII. and by her had issue four sons, William and Francis, who died young and unmarried; and Ferdinand and William, successively Earls of Derby after him; also one daughter, who died young and unmarried.

Upon his demise he left, besides the above issue by his own lady, three natural children, by one Jane Halsal, of Knowsley, to wit, one son named Thomas, and two daughters, Dorothy and Ursula; for whom he made a liberal provision. Dorothy, his first daughter, married Sir Cuth. Halsal, of Halsal, in the county of Lancaster; and Ursula, his second daughter, married Sir John Salisbury, of Sterney, in the county of Derby.

* Records of Liverpool.

Thomas his son, by Jane Halsal, was styled Thomas Stanley, of Eccleshall, Esq. on whom he also settled the manor of Broughton, and other lands, near Manchester, which his successors sold to Mr. Cheetham, of Smedley.

He was succeeded by Ferdinand, his eldest son, and fifth Earl of Derby, in honours and the baronies of Stanley and Strange, and also to his very great and noble estate. But such is the frailty of human nature, the malice and wickedness of our fellow-creatures, and the infinite variety of chances and accidents attending human life, that all the care and caution mankind are able to use are not sufficient to guard against them; no, nor riches, nor power, neither of which were wanting in the noble person we are treating of.

This earl went off the stage of this world in the flower of his age, to the great loss of his prince, family, and country, and indeed universally lamented, being of an exalted genius, as well as birth; and allowed by all to be one of the most hopeful peers of the age. But that which added greatly to the general affliction was the uncommon and surprising manner of his death, as hereafter.

His royal mistress the queen had at that time many seditious and rebellious subjects, who, to avoid the punishment due to their crimes, fled to foreign countries. Amongst whom was one Richard Hackett, who was sent by those fugitives to prevail upon this noble and loyal peer to assume and set up a title and claim to the crown of England, in right of his descent from Mary, the second daughter of Henry VII. and younger sister to King Henry VIII. and at that time queen dowager of France, whose grandmother was this earl's mother, as before; threatening, that unless he undertook this projected enterprise, and withal conceal him the messenger and instigator of it, he should shortly die in a most wretched manner; but if he complied therewith, he might be assured of powerful assistance.

But this dutiful and loyal earl, having no design or intention of claim against her majesty, nor inclination to

disturb her peaceable possession at the hazard of his own life, honour, and opulent fortune, considered the proposition made to him as a snare laid for his destruction, and therefore rejected it with scorn and indignation.

However these villanous menaces proved not altogether vain, for within four months after, this noble earl died a very miserable and surprising death, being seized and tormented by vomiting matter of a dark rusty colour, insomuch that he was supposed by the learned in the practice of physic and others to be poisoned, or else bewitched. For there was found in his chamber a little image made of wax, with hairs of the colour of his in the belly of it; which occasioned many and various speculations, conjectures, and constructions, concerning the nature, meaning, and effects thereof. But I have met with no remarks from the curious of that age, touching the real being, existence, or power of witches and wizards, then or at any time in the world; nor with any observations made by them upon this extraordinary event; therefore I submit so critical and abstruse a point to be discussed by the learned of our own times.

His gentleman of horse was greatly suspected to have had a large share in this wicked scene for the removal of his very noble and indulgent master out of this world; for the same day the earl took his bed, he fled away with one of his best horses, and was heard of no more.

His vomit was so violent and corroding, that it stained the silver andirons in the chimney of his room, upon which he had vomited; and when dead, though his body was wrapped in seareloth, and covered with lead, yet did it so corrupt and putrefy, that for a long time after none could endure to come near the place it was laid in, till his burial.

By his will, bearing date the twelfth of April, the thirty-eighth of Elizabeth, he bequeathed his body to be buried in his chapel at Ormskirk, which was accordingly done the sixth of May following. His death was universally

lamented, and greatly increased by the manner of it. He was good to his tenants, kind to his friends, charitable to the poor; a generous master, a loving and indulgent husband, and a tender and affectionate parent; and had been honoured by his royal mistress with the noble order of the garter.

He married Alice, one of the daughters of Sir John Spencer, of Althrop, in the county of Northampton, by whom he left issue three daughters, his heiresses general. [*See arms, fig.* 27, *plate* 3.] The Lady Ann, his first daughter, being at his death thirteen years eleven months old, afterwards married to Grey Bruges, Lord Chandois; the Lady Frances, eleven years and four months, after married to Sir John Edgerton, son and heir of Lord Elsmere, then lord chancellor of England; and Elizabeth, the youngest, seven years eight months old, after married to Henry Lord Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon: of all whom in their order.

This noble, but unfortunate lord, was succeeded by his younger brother, Sir William Stanley, in the barony of Stanley, and earldom of Derby, but neither in his estate, nor in the barony of Strange, of Knocking; the first being divided betwixt him and his nieces, the heiresses general of his late brother, as hereafter; and the second devolving upon the said heiresses general, with all the estate appertaining thereto, and invested in them, exclusive of the house of Stanley, to whom the barony of Strange, of Knocking, subsided and became extinct; as more fully will be shown in its proper place.

This Sir William was that great Sir William Stanley of whose travels, martial exploits, and bravery abroad, this county gives us many large accounts, as well in story as song. But being abroad at his brother's decease, and not certainly known whether he was living or not, the very great estate he was as heir at law entitled to, (at this time in its full extent), he found on his return all settled upon

his brother's daughters, under the guardianship of four bishops and four temporal lords, who possessed every branch of it to their ward's uses, without any regard to him; which, with the barony of Strange and the Isle of Man, was no less than a princely patrimony, for extent, income, and power; but he, unhappy gentleman, was refused admittance by the said guardians to any share of it.

In this melancholy case, having but few friends, less money, and powerful adversaries, who had little or no knowledge of him, (nor indeed few others, by reason of his long absence) yet kind Providence, the guardian of all who are in distress and overpowered by might, knew his just cause, raised him friends and assistants to enter his claim in law to his birth-right; in which several of the old tenants in and about Latham, Dalton, Newburgh, &c. who knew him from a child to be their natural and rightful lord, supplied him with money to recover his just right, or so much thereof as he was justly entitled unto.

Upon which a dispute and contest in law arose betwixt the said earl and the heiresses general, touching the claim and title to all the late earl's estate in England, and also to the Isle of Man; whereupon the queen, apprehending that under the present unsettled state thereof, not only many renegadoes of the English and Scotch, but the Spaniards also, her declared enemies, might resort to that island, to the great disturbance of her peace, and the tranquillity of her government; for security and prevention thereof thought proper to commit the charge and care of the island to her trusty friend and servant Sir Thomas Gerrard, (after by her created Lord Gerrard, of Bromley, in the county of Stafford,) until the controversy, then depending betwixt the parties claiming, should be determined by law.

In the mean time the true and real title to the said Isle of Man was called in question; and being brought before her majesty's attorney and other learned counsel, they, upon

examination thereof declared, That the right thereof did solely belong to her majesty; and that the Stanleys, Earls of Derby, had no good title to that island, by reason that King Henry IV. soon after he obtained the crown, upon the outlawry of William Scroope, then lord thereof, bestowed it upon Henry Piercy, then Earl of Northumberland; and upon his rebellion, about six years after, granted the same by patent to Sir John Stanley for life.

But Northumberland not being attainted by parliament, nor his possessions adjudged to be confiscated; and for that some short time after the king and Sir John agreed that those letters patent to him for life should be surrendered and cancelled, which was done as before recited, and that he should have an estate thereof in see; so that considering the grant for life was before such time as the king was legally entitled thereto by Northumberland's attainder, they pronounced that the king could not pass any estate for life; and also that the other grant, which had its foundation from the surrender of the estate for life, could not be of any validity.

Whereupon the queen, agreeable to her wonted goodness, having considered the many eminent services performed for her majesty and her royal predecessors by the honourable and noble house of Stanley, and their long enjoyment of that island without any interruption, was graciously pleased to drop and withdraw all supposed right she might have thereto, as suggested by the said gentlemen of the law, and to refer the parties claimant to the decision of the courts; and upon this foot the Isle of Man rested under her majesty's care most of the remaining part of her reign.

But the proceedings at law in England, touching the right to the many and great estates there, and the filial portions and advancement of the said three ladies, were prosecuted for six or seven years with the utmost vigour; and in all that time no definitive sentence could be obtained in favour of either of the parties.

This tedious and dilatory proceeding by the courts of law, added to the very great esteem and high value her majesty entertained of the great worth and merit of the said Earl William, as a faithful subject, a wise counsellor, and a brave captain, with the heavy expense he laboured under for the recovery of his paternal right, together with her majesty's concern for the re-establishment of the ancient, honourable, and most worthy house of Stanley, gave her majesty great perplexity and anxiety of mind. Wherefore, for her majesty's ease, and the removal of her royal concern, and the accomplishment of her kind intention to so many loyal and dutiful subjects and relations, she, like a nursing mother, meditated a reconciliation of all differences, disputes, and controversies subsisting betwixt them; and by the assistance and advice of Cecil Lord Burleigh, Sir Robert Cecil, principal secretary of state, and many other kind friends and relations to the honourable and noble house of Derby, her majesty effected her princely and benign intention, by being graciously pleased to propose a reference of all matters, pretensions, and clashing interests of the several claimants, to which she was so happy as to obtain their several and united consents.

And for this good purpose, the following noble persons were, by her majesty's powerful interest, nominated and appointed referees and arbitrators thereof, to wit, the Right Honourable Cecil Lord Burliegh; the Right Honourable Thomas Lord Buckhurst, lord high treasurer of England; the Right Honourable the Earl of Dorset; the Right Honourable Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury; the Right Honourable Clifton, Earl of Cumberland; George Lord Hunsdon; and the Right Honourable Cecil, principal secretary of state, and then Earl of Salisbury; being the noble and well-affected friends, as well of the said William, Earl of Derby, as of the said young ladies, daughters to Ferdinand, late Earl of Derby.

These honourable persons having heard the said parties

themselves, their learned counsel, officers, agents, and servants, with other useful friends authorized to appear therein, advisedly heard and considered the several rights, titles, and claims of all the parties; and did, by the consent of the parties and their counsel, officers, and friends, for the appeasing, ending, and extinguishing of all variances, claims, titles, and controversies then moved and grown; or which then after might arise and grow between the said parties, or any of them, touching the said premises in question; agree, order, and determine, amongst other things, that such and so many of the said castles, manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, late parcel of the possessions of the said Ferdinand, late Earl of Derby, in the towns, hamlets, villages, and places hereafter mentioned, and in every of them, should be assured, conveyed, and enjoyed, by and unto such person or persons, and for and during such estate and estates; and with and under such limitations, powers, liberties, declarations, and savings, and in such manner and form as hereafter mentioned, limited, and expressed.

Which said order and agreement, so made by the said honourable persons, as well the said William, Earl of Derby, and the Countess Elizabeth his wife, and the rest of the issue male descended from the honourable house of Derby, and the said ladies Ann, Frances, and Elizabeth, daughters of the said late Earl Ferdinand, before and until their several marriages, and since their said marriages, their said husbands and they did, and yet do hold themselves well contented and satisfied; all which orders and agreements were confirmed by act of parliament, passed the fourth of James I. as hereafter.

By which act and agreement were appointed and yielded to the Right Honourable William, Earl of Derby, the ancient seats of Latham and Knowsley, with all the houses, lands, castles, and appurtenances, in Lancashire, Cumberland, Yorkshire, Cheshire, and many in Wales; also the

manor of Meriden, in the county of Warwick; the old seat in Channon Row, Westminster, (now Derby court;) and the advowson of the parish church of the holy Trinity, in the city of Chester.

And to the said heirs female, the daughters of the said late Earl Ferdinand, the baronies of Strange, of Knocking, Mohun, Barnwell, Basset, and Lacy, with all the houses, castles, manors, and lands thereto belonging; with several other manors and large estates lying in most counties of England, and many in Wales.

For the better and further assurance thereof to every party, and the prevention of all further disputes, there were nineteen recoveries suffered in the Common Pleas, London, in one term, and seventeen at Lancaster, in one assizes. Thus was composed and brought to final issue, all disputes and controversies touching the lands and numerous estates in England and Wales, exceeding in extent and value most of the subjects in the king's dominions; by which the reader will easily judge what a terrible breach was made therein by the said division. But the Isle of Man remained unsettled, the said ladies claiming the same right to that, as heiresses to their father, as they had done to those in England and Wales; and the disputes and contests in law, touching the right and title thereof, continued well nigh as long as those had done in England.

The right thereto being brought upon the carpet by Earl William, and his title strongly asserted by him, the decision thereof in some time came before the learned judges of the several benches; who, upon a full hearing of the counsel on both sides, declared the patent by King Henry IV. granting the Isle of Man to Sir John Stanley, and his heirs for ever, was warranted by the common law, and that the heirs general would take it before their uncle.

Whereupon the said earl was constrained to come to a treaty and agreement with the said heirs general, as also with Thomas Lord Elsemere, then chancellor of England,

and Alice his wife, widow of the late Earl Ferdinand, who had married the said chancellor, for the purchase of all their several claims and interest in and to the said island, or any part or parts thereof; which he at length effected, and got into possession of the same.

Upon which he applied to his majesty King James I. and from him obtained a new patent or grant, confirming to him and his heirs for ever the said Isle of Man, with all the honours, powers, privileges, and regalities thereto belonging, or any wise appertaining, in as full and ample a manner as it had been granted to, or enjoyed by, any former lord thereof.

Which said letters patent, together with the said agreement made with all the parties aforesaid, the said earl had confirmed by a special act of the parliament began at Westminster the nineteenth of March, the first of James I. and continued to the ninth of February, the seventh of James I. as by the said act, wherein he settled the Isle of Man upon himself and the Lady Elizabeth his wife for life, and to the survivor of them; and after to James Lord Stanley, his eldest son and heir, and the heirs male of his body; and in default of such issue, to Sir Robert Stanley, his second son, and the heirs male of his body; and in default of such issue, then to the right heirs of the said James Lord Stanley for ever, with a proviso, that neither he nor any of his successors should either by will, deed, or any other instrument in writing, give, bargain, contract, sell, assign or transfer the said island, or any branch thereof, from his or their own issue.

But in default of such heirs, then to the right heirs of the said Sir Robert Stanley, under the same limitations and restraint, as by record thereof, returned into the chancery of England, by writ of Certiorari, bearing date the thirtieth of July, the eighth of James I. appeareth that the noble lord, whose life and actions we have here treated of, was the sixth of his family, and was by Queen

Elizabeth honoured with the noble order of the garter; and the first of James I. was, by patent, made chamberlain of Chester for life; in which office he appointed Henry Townshend Esq. his vice chamberlain; and after him succeeded Sir Thomas Ireland, of Bewsey; after him Roger Downs, of Wardley, Esq. and after him Orlando Bridgeman, Esq. who continued to the year 1640, when a new patent passed, joining with his father, James Lord Stanley, for both their lives, and the survivor of them.

But some years before this last patent, to wit, 1637, his lady being dead, and he grown old and infirm, and desirous to withdraw himself from the hurry and fatigue of life, in which he had been very largely engaged, and greatly encumbered, (as hath been related;) and his son, James Lord Stanley, now advanced to the honour of Strange also, as hereafter, having married the most noble lady Charlotte, daughter to Claud de Tremouille, Duke de Tremouille and Travers, in France, [*see arms, fig.* 28, *plate* 3.] a lady of high birth and agreeable fortune; and his son, the Lord Stanley and Strange, being a person of exalted genius, highly qualified with learning, and all the accomplishments of a noble mind and spirit, his kind and indulgent father was pleased to honour and dignify him agreeable to his quality, by the assignation and surrender of all his estates to him; and put him in possession thereof, reserving to himself only one thousand pounds per annum, during his life, as by the following deed:

"Know ye that I, William Earl of Derby, Lord of Man and the Isles, &c. being lawfully seized of and in my demesnes, as of freehold of sundry houses, castles, lands, tenements, and honours, as well in England and Wales, as in the Isle of Man, do by this my sufficient deed, under my hand and seal, bearing date this eleventh day of August, 1637, grant and surrender to my son James Lord Stanley and Strange, and his heirs, all my term for life, interest and estate whatsoever, of, in, and unto the same

lands, tenements, and hereditaments, whereof I was so seized, &c."

Whereupon the earl purchased a convenient house on the side of the river Dee, near Chester, whither he retired, and passed the evening of his life in quiet, peace, and pleasing enjoyment of ease, rest, and freedom of body as well as mind, agreeable to the practice and sentiments of the wise senators of Rome, who, on like occasion, used to retire to their rural seats, as given us by one of their own poets, to wit:

"How blest is he, who, tired with his affairs,
Far from all noise and vain applause prepares
To go; and underneath some silent shade,
Which neither cares nor anxious thoughts invade,
Does for a while alone himself possess,
Changing the court for rural happiness."

This earl married the Lady Elizabeth, daughter to Edward, Earl of Oxford, [*see arms, fig.* 29, *plate* 3.] by whom he had issue two sons, James and Robert; also three daughters: first, Elizabeth, who died young; second, Ann, who married Sir Henry Portman, of Orchard, in the county of Somerset, and after his death Sir Robert Carr, Knight and Earl of Ancram, in Scotland; the third daughter, another Elizabeth, who died young. James, his eldest son and successor, we shall take notice of in due place. Robert, his second son, married a daughter of Lord Witherington, by whom he had issue, which are all long since extinct; as hereafter appears.

This noble lord died in his retirement, at his house near Chester, on the twenty-ninth of September, 1642; and from thence was conveyed to Ormskirk, and there deposited with his noble ancestors.

But before we proceed we have further to observe, that during this lord's life, in the midst of all his contests and

struggles for a share of the great and immense estate of his ancestors, he was applied to for the repair of Warrington bridge, erected by his noble and renowned ancestor, Thomas Earl of Derby. But he being under the calamitous state of continual suits, contests, and daily expence in law, for the recovery of his natural right, and then not possest of any, or but a small pittance thereof, refused his assistance to the amendment of that bridge, then much out of order. Upon which the gentlemen of Cheshire consulted the judges at Chester on that subject, who advised that inquiry might be made by them against the next assizes, if any lands or tenements were settled and appropriated by any of the noble family of Derby, for the maintenance and support thereof, and report the case to them as it appeared upon the said inquiry; which being fully made, and nothing found settled for the purposes aforesaid, they were advised by the said judges to consult together with their neighbours of Lancashire, of some proper means for the security, support, and reparation thereof. A meeting was therefore had by the gentlemen of Cheshire and Lancashire, to consider of this public affair wherein both the counties were greatly concerned; the result whereof was, That as it had been built and hitherto preserved by the good pleasure and generosity of the house of Stanley, without any obligation upon any of them for the continuance thereof, that for the future one county should repair one half of the said bridge, and the other county the other half; as I am informed it is at this time. For the original and remarkable structure and benefit of this bridge, (which begot the present town of Warrington) the ancient and present landlords round it are greatly indebted to the noble and illustrious house of Derby.

James Lord Stanley and Strange, eldest son and heir to the late earl, was called to parliament by writ from King Charles I. in the year 1627, being the third of his reign, by the style and title of Sir James Stanley, Knight of the

Bath, and Chevaliere de Strange, without any local place, and as such sat in the house of peers several parliaments, when his father sat there as Earl of Derby.

Sir William Dugdale says of this noble peer, that setting aside the great state he lived in, and his wonderful hospitality and beneficence to his neighbours, friends, and servants, he was a person highly accomplished with learning, prudence, loyalty, and true valour; and was one, if not the first of the peers that repaired to King Charles I. at York, when the seditious, insolent, and rebellious Londoners had drove his majesty from Whitehall: and though he did not usually follow the court, or design to advance his honour or family by a complimental and obsequious attendance of that kind, yet when he saw his majesty's affairs required his assistance, he thought himself obliged both by his religion and allegiance to assist him to the utmost of his power, with his life and fortune; and made him a tender of both.

And although he observed the ministers of state about his majesty looked coldly and shily upon him, as perhaps thinking him either too great or too popular, in their opinion, to be much favoured or employed in that critical juncture, yet his lordship prudently concealed his sense thereof, and with the plainness and integrity of his loyal mind, offered himself ready to observe his majesty's commands upon all occasions. And in his own words tells us, that in the beginning of that war in 1643, he thought himself happy to have the general applause of his neighbouring gentlemen and yeomen, as they would choose to follow him as they had done his ancestors; but whether this was more to continue a custom, or the love of his name or person, was hard to say.

But this he knew, that he had raised three thousand good men, who went with him out of Lancashire, to attend and serve his majesty; and that he was extremely grieved to see the king in so bad a condition, which made him

spare neither pains, cost, nor hazard, to assist him in so just a quarrel. He lent the king all his arms, and his majesty gave him his warrant to receive as many from Newcastle. But somebody was in the fault, his majesty's warrant not being obeyed, nor he supplied with arms and ammunition as was expected. His majesty also allowed and ordered him a sufficient sum of money for his service; but some of his servants about him thought fit to keep it for other uses. "I shall not," says he, "enter into particulars, but only say, that this might show the king my good intention in the discharge of a good conscience, and the preservation of my honour, in spite of envy and malice."

The first considerable debate wherein he eminently showed himself, was concerning the most convenient place for setting up the king's standard, York, Chester, Nottingham, Shrewsbury, and Oxford, being in proposition. His lordship, having heard the several reasons and opinions offered, and well weighed and considered the arguments for their support, at last, with a calm and quiet humility, interposed to the following effect: That with humble submission to his majesty and his council, he conceived Lancashire to be a convenient place to erect his majesty's standard in, and raise a considerable army; urging that it lay as the centre of the northern counties, to which the loyal parties of Yorkshire, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Cheshire, Shropshire, North-Wales, and Nottinghamshire, might have ready access; that he apprehended the inhabitants of that county, both gentry and commons, (at least for the greatest part,) well inclined to his majesty's just cause; that the people are usually very hardy, and make good soldiers, and that he himself (though the unworthiest of his lieutenants) would, to the utmost of his estate, contribute to his service; and that he durst promise three thousand foot, and five hundred horse, to be furnished out at his own charge; that he made no doubt but in three days to enlist 7000 men more under his majesty's pay, and,

to make up an army of 10,000 men in Lancashire, to which the accesses from other counties might in a short time arise to a considerable army; and that he hoped his majesty would be able to march to London walls, before the rebels there could form an army to oppose him.

These things thus proposed, his majesty and council took time to consider and resolve what to do on that momentous affair: and a few days after it was concluded, with much dissatisfaction to the party that favoured not his lordship, that the standard should be set up at Warrington in Lancashire, where his majesty's army might have the convenience of both Lancashire and Cheshire, for the quartering of both horse and foot.

His lordship upon this resolve was dispatched into Lancashire, to prepare for his majesty's reception, and to dispose the country to be ready for his service. Immediately on his return into Lancashire, he mustered the county in three places, on the heaths by Bury, by Ormskirk, and by Preston, where at least twenty thousand men appeared to him in each field, most whereof were well armed with pike, musket, or other weapons. His lordship intended to have done the same in Cheshire and North Wales, where he was lieutenant; but these things, which his lordship really intended for his majesty's service, were by the envy, jealousy, or prejudice of some at court, insinuated to serve other purposes; suggesting that the earl was a popular man; that he was no favourer of the court, but rather a malcontent; that those noised musters which he had made were preindications of his ambitious designs; that it was dangerous trusting him with great power in his hands, who too well knew his near alliance to the crown; that his ancester the Lord Stanley, though he appeared with Richard III. and gave his son George Lord Strange a pledge of his loyalty, yet turned the battle against him, and put the crown upon the head of Henry VII.; that his uncle Ferdinand had likewise boldly declared his pretensions to the

crown; that his lady was a Hugonot, bred up in the religion and principles of the Dutch; and that for these, and other good reasons, it was not safe for his majesty to put himself too far into his hands, or trust him with too great a power. These invidious and injurious insinuations, notwithstanding the king's good inclinations towards him, so far prevailed and puzzled his council, that they persuaded the easy good-natured king to change his resolution, and to set up the royal standard at Nottingham; to divest the Earl of Derby of the lieutenancy of Cheshire and Wales, and to join the Lord Rivers, newly made an earl, in commission with him in Lancashire. This sudden and unexpected turn in his majesty's councils being signified to his lordship from York, though at present it gave him some trouble and anxiety of mind, yet agreeable to his great temper, he quickly recovered himself, and with great equanimity spoke to this effect, "Let my master be happy, though I be miserable; and if they consult well for him, I shall not be much concerned what becomes of me. My wife, my family, and country, are very dear to me; but if my prince and my religion be safe, I shall bless even my enemies who do well for them, though in my ruin." Then with the advice of his friends, whose counsel he always used in cases of difficulty, he dispatched a gentleman to York with letters to the king, signifying that he had read the express of his sovereign's good pleasure, as he ought to do, with submission and due obedience; that though his enemies would not give him leave to serve his sovereign, they should never so far provoke him as to desert him; that if he might not, according to his birth and quality, be permitted to fight for him, he would never draw his sword against him; that he did submissively resign the lieutenancies of Cheshire and North Wales to his majesty's disposal, but besought him to take away that of Lancashire also, rather than subject him to the reproach and suspicion of a partner in that government.

These letters being received and perused by the king and council, had only this effect, that the Lord Rivers was removed, and the earl left in the single command of Lancashire. But the unkind, impolitic usage of this noble lord (though by him suffered with great resolution) was by the country, who had the greatest veneration for his family, highly resented, and proved of the greatest prejudice to the king's affairs. Many gentlemen in the north, who were formerly well-inclined to the king's cause, seeing the contempt and ill usage of the Earl of Derby, either sat still or revolted to the parliament with all their dependencies, suspecting, as indeed it fell out, that the Earl of Derby being laid aside, the country would never follow any other commander, and that the king's interest would dwindle and soon be lost. And those divisions and disappointments, his lordship tells us, made the ill-affected in Lancashire grow proud; and the meaner sort thought it a fine thing to set up against the great ones. The parliament, being quickly advertised of the unhappy circumstances and management of the king's affairs, immediately offered his lordship what power and command he would accept in their service; which his lordship rejected with scorn and indignation. Yet the same bait took with many others that formerly had no inclination to the puritanical faction; and Ashton of Middleton, Holland of Heaton, Holcroft of Holcroft, Heywood of Heywood, Birch of Birch, and several others, who, supposing on this slight of the Earl of Derby that the whole country would be at their devotion, took commissions from the parliament, and with all speed garrisoned and fortified themselves in Manchester, the parliament encouraging and assisting them with money and ammunition.

The royal standard being about this time set up at Nottingham, and the country not coming in as expected, the king now began to reflect on the ill usage of the Earl of Derby, and by an express under his own hand desired him to raise what forces he could in Lancashire, and come with

them to him. To this his lordship answered, that the rebels had seized Manchester; that many of the country had joined them, and others had declared for a loose and undutiful neutrality; that the face of things was greatly altered by his majesty's march another way; and that he could not now flatter his majesty with the access of such aids as he might have done some few months past. However, notwithstanding all the discouragements he met with, he would use all his diligence to raise what forces he could for his majesty's assistance. And for that purpose his lordship issued out his warrants for an appearance of all his tenants and dependants; but durst not venture to make a general muster of the country, for fear of waking the late suspicions, as yet scarce asleep; and of his own tenants and relations raised three regiments of foot, and three troops of horse, and clothed them at his own charge, and armed them out of his own magazine. And when they were in readiness to march, his lordship posted to the king, then at Shrewsbury, to receive his commands for their disposal. His majesty guessing the dangerous consequences that might ensue by leaving a nursery of rebellion behind him at Manchester, ordered those forces to attack that place; and required the earl, then with his majesty, to give directions to Colonel Gilbert Gerrard, an old soldier, to draw before the town. The colonel obeyed his order; but the waters being then so swelled, he found it difficult to fix commodious posts for his horse and foot, which occasioned some delay in the intended attack of the town; and therefore the earl himself was, by his majesty's special command, sent thither from Shrewsbury, to give a speedy onset; and whether he carried the town or not, to march up to the camp.

The earl had not been four hours before the town ere he summoned them to submit to the king's clemency, and to give up the place upon honourable terms; but they, with great obstinacy, refused all offers of mercy: on which his

lordship gave orders for a storm upon the town, the next morning, at four o'clock. But that very night, about twelve, his lordship received letters from the king, intimating that the Earl of Essex was at the head of the rebels, and then on his march from London towards him with a formidable army; that he stood in need of those forces under his lordship; and that if the town was not carried, he should not hazard any of them by an assault; that if he carried the battle against Essex, those small garrisons would fall of themselves; and that his lordship should, on the receipt of those letters, forthwith advance to him with what forces he had.

Upon this, though his lordship made no doubt to have gained the place by an easy assault, and thought it would highly reflect upon his honour to quit it *reinfacto*, yet thought fit, without dispute or delay, to obey the king's commands, well knowing how his enemies at court would interpret any cross accident that might occur in any attempt contrary to the orders he had received. He therefore, to the wonder and regret of all his officers and soldiers, gave directions for a speedy march by five o'clock in the morning; and in two days brought to the king three regiments of foot, and three troops of horse, well hoping that he might have commanded the troops raised at his own charge, as a brigade in his majesty's service.

However his enemies, and probably no friends to the king, so far wrought upon his majesty's too easy and credulous temper, by secret, unjust, and malicious whispers, that he took the command of those troops from the earl, and disposed of them to other officers; for which the king only gave him for his reason the cheap and specious pretence, that it was necessary his lordship should attend his charge in Lancashire, and the motions of the rebels there; therefore desired him to hasten back, and to do all in his power to prevent the growth and increase of their forces in that county.

This noble lord, though a person of great temper, yet of as great a spirit, was so ruffled at this unkind usage, that he was scarce able to contain himself; but in a little time recovering from his great surprise and concern, replied to his sovereign, "Sir, if I have deserved this indignity, I deserve also to be hanged; if not, my honour and quality command me to beg your justice against those persons who, in this insolent manner, abuse both me and your majesty. And if any man living (your majesty excepted) shall dare to fix the least accusation upon me, that may tend to your disservice, I hope you will give me leave to pick the calumny from his lips with the point of my sword."

The king with a smooth countenance appeared to entertain no displeasure against his lordship, but said, "My lord, my affairs are troubled; the rebels are marching against me; and it is not now a time to quarrel amongst ourselves. Have a little patience, and I will do you right." Though his lordship did with all moderation contain himself, and used all his endeavours to cover the dissatisfaction he was under on the manifest dishonour done him on this occasion, yet the matter could not be so privately carried on, but it was soon spread through the whole court and army. His lordship's friends spoke plainly out, and his soldiers refused to march or serve under any other commander; but his lordship, by his wisdom and temper, composed the minds of his friends, and prevailed upon his soldiers to give obedience to their officers.

The rebels in Lancashire were not ignorant how things passed at court, and thought it was now a proper time to re-attempt his lordship with fresh offers of power and command; and to this purpose procured a new express from the parliament to his lordship, with fresh offers, importing, "That he could not but be very sensible of the indignity put upon him at court by the king's evil counsellors; that those enemies were the enemies of the nation; that they

struck at religion and all good men, and would permit none but papists, or people popishly affected, to be near his majesty; that it was the whole intent of the parliament to remove men of such desperate and pernicious principles from his person, and to secure the true protestant religion; and that if his lordship would engage in that good cause, he should have command equal to his own greatness, or any of his ancestors."

The purport of these letters raised a greater indignation in his lordship than all the slights and indignities he had received at court; whereupon he vouchsafed them no other answer than that he gave the colonel who brought the message: "Pray tell the gentlemen at Manchester, and let them tell the gentlemen at London, when they hear I turn traitor, I shall hearken to their propositions; till then, if I receive any other papers of this nature, it shall be at the peril of him that brings them."

The rebels in Lancashire had by this time garrisoned Lancaster and Preston, and in a manner commanded all the country; but his lordship having divested himself of his arms and magazines, was not in a condition to make much resistance against them; yet he used all diligence to fortify his own house at Latham, and secretly got in men, horse, and ammunition; and had in a month's time raised a good troop of horse, and two companies of foot. Being advertised that three captains of foot with their companies were advanced to Houghton Common, within six miles of Latham, his lordship with what forces he had marched out against them, and after half an hour's fight defeated and took all the three captains prisoners, (one whereof was Venables, who was afterwards employed by Oliver against Hispaniola.) By this defeat, so unexpectedly given to that party, he made himself master of all their arms, and struck such terror in the country as gave his lordship fresh reputation, insomuch that good store of horse and foot came daily to him; and he began thereby to confine the enemy to their garrisons.

About this time Lord Molyneux coming to Lancashire to recruit his regiment, much shattered at Edge Hill and Brainford fight, Lord Derby applied to him for assistance with his forces to take in the garrisons which so much annoyed the country, and impeded his majesty's service; to which Lord Molyneux agreed, and with their joint forces marched from Latham house, in the dark of the evening, to Lancaster without halting, being about thirty miles, and appeared before the town at break of day, and summoned the garrison to surrender; who refusing to comply, the town was immediately stormed, and taken at the second assault. The soldiers were a little backward to engage in the assault, which the earl perceiving, took a half-pike in his hand, and called out to them, "Follow me;" on which some gentlemen volunteers joined him, and all the soldiers cheerfully followed and entered the town, in which twenty soldiers were wounded, and that gallant, loyal, and worthy gentleman, Blundell of Crosby, had his thigh shattered by a musket-ball.

His lordship having demolished the works, and refreshed his men three days, began his march the third evening to Preston, where arriving early next morning, he sent a summons to the mayor to surrender the town to the king's use; who refusing to obey the summons, the earl gave orders to assault the works in three places, by Capt. Chisenhall, Capt. Radcliff, and Capt. Edward Rowsthorne. Capt. Chisenhall entered first, and being supported by the reserve, the town after about an hour's fight was subdued, and about 600 of the enemy killed, and the rest made prisoners, except some who escaped by the way of the river which was fordable. His lordship demolished the works of this town also, and judging that an useless garrison was not only a loss to the king, but a plague to the country by pillaging and oppressing them; after refreshing his soldiers four or five days, he called a council of war, at which he proposed a march to Manchester, then the chiefest

garrison the rebels had in the country; urging that the enemy were under great consternation, and the works of the town inconsiderable to resolved men; that there was a great party in the place well affected to the king's cause; and that he was advertised that, on appearance of the king's forces, they would show themselves. Therefore if it pleased the Lord Molyneux, and the other commanders, (by whose assistance the late happy actions were achieved) to march with him to Manchester, he would either reduce the town or lay his bones before it.

This proposal met with some opposition; but after a short debate it was carried for a march. The army advanced that night as far as Chorley; but before two o'clock in the morning, Lord Molyneux was by the king's command called up to Oxford, with his regiment. Lord Derby with much importunity entreated his stay but for four days, that he might attempt something on Manchester, which the Lord Molyneux and the other officers with him flatly refused, and besides produced their commission to make up their regiments and broken companies out of the forces newly raised by the Earl of Derby.

No doubt but this usage must be very shocking to that nobleman, who being not only deserted by his auxiliaries, but deprived of his own forces, was left alone to secure himself by a retreat to his house at Latham; at which his and the king's enemies taking new courage, united all their scattered forces into one body, and assembled at Wigan, a town newly garrisoned by his lordship, and trusted to the command of Major-General Blaire, a Scotch gentleman recommended to him by the king; which town they took and plundered to the very utensils and plate of the communion table, which one of their puritanical teachers, one Fyldesley, hung round him as the spoils and plunder of a popish idol.

All these discouragements, sufficient to have sunk the spirits, and shaken the loyalty of the most affectionate and

dutiful subject in the world, served only to excite his great and loyal mind how to retrieve all past misfortunes.

Thus whilst his lordship was engaged in new contrivances to advance his majesty's service, he received an express from the king, importing that his enemies had formed some projects to seize the Isle of Man; that they had a party in the island in confederacy with them, and without speedy care it was in danger of being lost; then thanked him for his many good services in England, and besought him to hasten speedily thither, for the security of that place.

Upon his lordship's perusal of these dispatches, he spoke to his lady with more than ordinary quickness and concern, saying, "My heart, my enemies have now their will, having prevailed with his majesty to order me to the Isle of Man, as a softer banishment from his presence, and their malice."

His lordship, who always knew how to obey, but never to dispute the king's commands, was upon this occasion under inexpressible grief and confusion of mind, being as it were at a loss and struggle of thoughts how and in what manner to conduct himself in so critical a juncture, with regard to his majesty's commands, and the service he was capable of doing for him in England, reasoning with himself in the following manner, and saying, "I that have, with the few that durst take my part, hitherto kept the greatest part of Lancashire in subjection to his majesty, in spite of his enemies, must now abandon my family, friends, and country's safety, to the malice of a wicked multitude, without either mercy or compassion."

But (as his lordship's memoirs go on) it being now known that the queen was at York with great forces, I was advised and requested by the loyal gentlemen then with me to go to her majesty, and represent to her our distressed state, and the necessity of giving us speedy help and relief; which I complied with, leaving the few forces I had in Lancashire under command of Lord Molyneux.

In my absence the enemy possest themselves of the whole country, saving my house and Sir John Girlington's; and a misfortune happening at Wakefield, prevented the queen's sending part of the forces with her to our assistance; and the Lancashire troops yet remaining, taking a march towards York, in hopes of meeting me there, were disappointed: which verified the old proverb, "Ill fortune seldom comes alone." For at that time a report was spread that some Scots, intending to assist the parliament, would land in the north, and in their way endeavour to take the Isle of Man, which might prove of ill consequence to the king's affairs; to which I gave not much heed, but continued my desire to wait on the queen to Oxford, where the king then was. And during my stay there I wrote the following letter to my son Charles Lord Strange, and had enlarged, but was suddenly called away, viz.

"That I had received letters from the Isle of Man, intimating the great danger of a revolt there; for that many people, following the example of England, began by murmuring and complaining against the government, and from some seditious and wicked spirits had learned the same lessons with the Londoners, to come to court in a tumultuous manner, demanding new laws, and a change of the old; that they would have no bishops, pay no tithes to the clergy, despised authority, and rescued some who had been committed by the governor for insolence and contempt. It was also reported that a ship of war, which I had there for a defence of the island, was taken by the parliament's ships; which proved true. And that it was judged by the queen and those with her (as Lord Goring, Lord Digby, Lord Jermin, Sir Edward Deering, and many more) that I should forthwith go to the island to prevent the impending mischief in time, as well for the king's service, as the preservation of my own inheritance."

Thus far I have digressed to take off that objection often asked, that when every gallant spirit had engaged himself

for the king and country, why I left the nation, deserted the king's service and cause, and became a neuter, with many such like invidious and malicious suggestions to my prejudice. But, I bless God, I am fully satisfied with my own conduct and integrity of heart, well remembering all those circumstances, as well as the wicked insinuations of my implacable and restless enemies. How others may be satisfied herewith I know not, but think this short relation, for want of time to set things in a fuller light, may rather puzzle the minds of the readers, if any should chance to see it but yourself; but you, my son, are bound to believe well of your father, and I to be thankful to almighty God that you so well understand yourself and me: as for others I am unconcerned whether they understand me or not.

Upon the above advice by the queen and friends, I returned to Latham; and having secretly made what provisions I possibly could of men, money, and ammunition, for the defence and protection of my wife and children against the insolence and affronts of the enemy, prepared for my speedy voyage to the Isle of Man, taking with me such men and materials as might answer those purposes I was sent about.

Leaving my house and children, and all my concerns in England, to the care of my wife, a person of virtue and honour equal to her high birth and quality, who being now left alone, a woman, a stranger in the country, (and as the enemy thought) without friends, provisions, or ammunition, for defence or resistance, concluded that Latham house would fall an easy prey to them; to which purpose they procured a commission from the parliament to reduce it by treaty or force.

But before I proceed to acquaint the world with the conduct and bravery of this most heroic and noble lady, in defence of herself, family, and friends, give me leave to attend her husband, the puissant Earl of Derby, to his principality of Man, and relate from his own Memoirs the

state he found that place in, with his conduct and management thereof, and his observations of that island and people, also his instructions, by letters from thence to his son the Lord Strange, advising and instructing him in the government of that island when it should descend to him, with the conduct and management of himself and family in the course of his life.

My coming to the Isle of Man proved in good time, for it was believed by most, that a few days longer absence would have ended the happy peace that the island had so long enjoyed. When the people knew of my coming they were much affected with it, as all new things usually do the common sort; but this good I found, that my lieutenant, Capt. Greenhalgh, had wisely managed the business by patience and good conduct; and observing the general disorder, had considered the people were to be won as you tame wild beasts, by scratching and stroking, and not by violent wrestling, lest they should turn upon you and know their strength. And who so powerful a prince, if a multitude rise against him, being alone or with a few, can well be able to resist them? As it is not therefore good that the common people know their own strength, so it is safest to keep them ignorant of what they may do, and rather give them daily occasion to admire the clemency of their lord. And this is to be done as often as he exerciseth justice and mercy; the one without too much rigour, but still according to the laws; and the other with softness upon fit objects, and those to make his own act; for every act of grace, or whatever is good or pleasing, must come immediately from himself. Never let it be known that any particular person hath power or occasion to persuade you to do what is good and just; and if you be jealous that they would think such a one your adviser, be sure some time to deny that man some thing, that notice may be taken of it; and show the world that reason and justice is the rule you are governed by. But if in any thing you are obliged to

be harsh, of that let another bear a share; and when you deny, or afflict, let another's mouth pronounce it.

The captain before my coming had imprisoned some saucy fellow, in the face of the rabble, who cried aloud, that they would all fare as that man did; which he warily seemed not to fear, and only threatened to lay every man by the heels that continued to behave in that saucy manner he had done; well knowing that if he punished him at that time, the rest would have rescued him, which would have let them see their own power, and how little his staff of office could annoy or hurt them. He then adjourned the court for that time, and wished them for the future to put their complaints in writing; and with good words promised to redress all their just grievances, and for that purpose would send over to me, without whom, he told them, no law could be changed; with which they were well pleased, and so departed.

Here you may observe the benefit of a good governor, and indeed of any servant in any office of trust; for the first judgment we make of a great man's understanding is in the choice of his servants and followers; for if they be good and faithful, then he is reputed a wise man, as having knowledge to discern: and for want of this caution and care many great families in England are ruined.

The Earl of Derby's character of Captain Greenhalgh, and his reasons for choosing him governor.

"First, that he was a gentleman well born, and such usually scorn a base action. Secondly, that he has a good estate of his own, and therefore need not borrow of another, which hath been a fault in this country; for when governors have wanted, and been forced to be beholding to those who may be the greatest offenders against the lord and country, in such case the borrower becomes servant to the lender, to the stoppage, if not the perversion of justice.

Next he was a deputy lieutenant and justice of the peace for his own country. He governed his own affairs well, and therefore was the more likely to do mine so. He hath been approved prudent and valiant, and as such fitter to be trusted. In fine he is such that I thank God for him, and charge you to love him as a friend."

When the people are bent on mischief, it is folly rashly to oppose them without sufficient power and force; neither is it discretion to yield to them too much, for reason will never persuade a senseless multitude; but keeping your gravity and state, comply with them seemingly, and rather defer the matter to another time, with assurance that you will forward their own desires; by which you may gain time, as if convinced by their reasons, and not the fear of any danger from them; and by the next meeting you may have taken off some of their leading champions, and either by good words or fair promises softened them to your own will; remembering that tumults are easier allayed by daring and undaunted men, than by wiser ones; for commonly the people more esteem the breast than the brain, and are much sooner compelled than persuaded.

It is fit to have charity for all men, and think them honest; but as it is certain that the greater part of men are bad, I may fear that few are good. The sure way for a right knowledge of this I took to be, by appointing a meeting in the heart of the country, which I did, and there wished every man to tell his grievances freely, and I would hear all complaints, and give them the best remedy I could; by which I thought those who had entered into any evil designs against me or the country might have time to find some excuses for themselves, and lay the blame and charge upon others.

And thus I chose rather to give them hopes, and prevent them falling into violent courses before I could be provided for them; and indeed I feared so many of them were engaged by oath and covenant, after the new way of Scotland,

that it would not be easy to make them sensible of their error. Nevertheless matters were not so ripe as I could have wished, and it was not amiss to address myself even to the chief actors in this business, telling them somebody was to blame; that I apprehended the people were misled, and that it would be an acceptable service in those who could bring them off it; and that if the common sort could be persuaded of their mistake, it would hinder any further inquiry into the business: upon which some did really confess their faults, and discover to me the whole design, by which I made one good step, by dividing the faction. Upon this each parish gave me a petition of their grievances, and I gave them good words, promising to take the same into consideration; upon which they appeared easy, and departed. After this I appointed another meeting at Peel Castle, where I expected some wrangling, and met with it; but I had provided for my own safety, and, if occasion were, to curb the rest: for in such cases it is good to be assured, of which notice being taken you will have much better dealing with them; otherwise the old saying is very true, "That he that is not sure to win is sure to lose." A number of busybodies spoke Manx only; which some officiously said should be commanded to hold their peace, which I was unwilling to, for I came prepared to give them liberty of speech, knowing by good experience that those people were their mother's children, loving to speak much; and should be dealt with like prating women, or a barking cur at your horse's heels. Give them liberty to put themselves out of breath, and they will be sooner quiet; and will be more content if you deny them after much speaking, than if you prevent it.

It is good in all business where you must appear in public (where you are as all great men are, like a candle upon a mountain) to appear in such a manner as may gain you respect and praise of the people; and so sit that all may look upon you. I resolved to give them liberty of

speaking in their own way, (for to reason with them was in vain) provided they crossed not my motions, which I was careful might be just and lawful.

And to bring my designs to pass, I had spies amongst the busybodies, who after they had sufficiently spoke ill of my office, began to speak well of me, and of my good intent to them to give them all satisfaction in their just grievances; that they were assured I did love the people; and that if any were so unreasonable as to provoke me they would run a great hazard; that I had power to maintain my actions, and there was no appeal.

When I took occasion above to commend the worth of the present governor, I did it as a rule to you in choice of your counsellors; and remember this benefit by council, that all good success will be your glory, and all evil, your excuse, having followed the advice of others, your counsellors are not likely to be better than yourself; but if they were, know this, that to ask counsel of one's betters tieth to performance; otherwise to ask counsel is to honour him of whom it is required, and you at liberty to do as you please.

While I was here I became acquainted with one Capt. Christian, who I observed had abilities sufficient to do me service; and being recommended to me by a friend, I inquired more of him, and was told he was a Manxman born, and had made himself a good fortune in the Indies. And he offered himself on these terms; that being resolved to retire into his own country, whether he had the place of power or no, he would be content to hold the staff of government until I made choice of another, and would then willingly resign; and as for the pay, he valued that so little, that he would do the service without any, or what pleased me.

He was an excellent companion, and as rude as a sea captain should be, but something more refined and civilised by serving the Duke of Buckingham about a year at court. Thus far I cannot much blame myself, but think if I had

a jewel of value I prized it at too high a rate, which he knew very well, and made use thereof to his own ends, therein abusing me, and presuming of my support in all his actions, which from time to time he gilded over with such fair pretences that I believed and trusted him too much. Also I gave too little heed to complaints against him, which was my fault; for which I have been whipped, and will do so no more. While he governed, for some years he pleased me very well, and had the quality of the best of servants; for whatever I bid him do he would perform; and if it succeeded ill would take it upon himself, but if well would give me the glory of it. This he did while I continued my favours to him, the denial of which would have been as ungrateful as unwise in me, if I should not thereby have obliged him to me as the only means to keep him good.

But such is the nature and condition of men, that most have one failing or other to sully their best actions; and his was that condition which is ever found with drunkenness, viz. avarice, which is observed to grow in men with their years.

He was ever forward in making many requests, which while they were fit for me to grant I did not deny; but indeed a good servant would rather be prevented by his lord's generosity, than demand any thing of himself; and choose to be enriched, as if enforced, rather than pretend to it, and ascribe the benefit to the honour of his office, and not to merit.

But I observed, the more I gave the more he asked, and such things as I could not grant without much prejudice to myself and others; so after a while I did sometime refuse him, on which it was sure to fall out, according to the old observation, "That when a prince hath given all, and the favourite can well desire no more, then both grow weary of one another." Ill servants, like ill diseases, are easily cured when known, but are dangerous if undiscovered.

Thus far having attended the noble Lord Derby to his principality of Man, and related his transactions there, with the great confusion, disorder, and sedition, he found the people in on his first coming thither; and also observed his great prudence, judgment, and temper, in calming their passions, healing their seditions, and reconciling them in duty to their king, in obedience to himself, and in friendship and unity with one another; let us therefore for a while leave him in peace, and the good esteem of his subjects, and return to the great and noble Lady Derby, and her children, at Latham house, and inquire of their welfare during his absence, whom he had left upon the very brink of danger, and for ought he knew utter destruction.

We have already informed the reader, that before his lordship left England, he had been advertised that the rebels had got a commission from the parliament to reduce Latham house, by treaty or force, which induced him to make all possible provision of men, money, and ammunition, for the support and defence of his noble family and their friends, who had kindly offered their best assistance; of which the great Lady Derby being informed, and also of the malicious designs and evil intentions of the enemy against her, used all diligence to get into the house more men, arms, and provisions, and to keep it at least so long as to procure honourable terms to quit it; but this was done by her with all possible speed, privacy, and caution, that the enemy might not allege her gathering forces as an act of public hostility, and therefore hasten their approach before her levies were got in readiness.

A true and genuine account of the famous and memorable Siege of

LATHAM HOUSE,

Begun the 28th of February, and carried on by the parliament army till the 27th of May, 1644.

COLONEL Ashton of Middleton, Colonel Egerton of Shaw, Colonel Holcroft of Holcroft, and Colonel Rigby, with their regiments, and Sir Thomas Fairfax from Yorkshire with his troops, were called to their assistance, to besiege or take by storm (for aught they knew) an unarmed lady in her own house. But that which the heroic lady most feared was, that they intended a sudden assault, which she conjectured from the multitude of their forces then in view; and that her own men, being but raw and unexperienced, would be therefore terrified, and not make a worthy resistance.

She therefore caused her men to be listed under six captains, whom for their courage and integrity she chose out of the gentlemen that were in the house, viz. Capt. Farrington of Werden, Capt. Charnock of Charnock, Capt. Chissenhall of Chissenhall, Capt. Rosthern of New Hall, Capt. Ogle of Prescot, and Capt. Molineux Radcliffe. These she desired to train, instruct, and encourage her men, being yet unskilful and unfit for service.

These captains received all their orders from Captain Farmer, whom her ladyship had made major of the house; and he received his orders from her ladyship. He was by nation a Scotchman, very skilful in the art of war, having been long in the school of Mars in the Low Countries; a man of true courage, and approved conduct. This worthy gentleman had the misfortune to be afterwards slain in the battle of Marston Moor, serving there under Colonel Chissenhall.

This martial and heroic lady commanded all the affairs of the house to be managed with the greatest privacy, and permitted none to go out of the gates, but those she could trust and rely upon both for prudence and loyalty; the rest were so concealed that when the enemy drew near to Latham house, they dreamed of no other resistance but from her own servants.

In the interim, the officers of the enemy being advanced to Ormskirk, two miles from Latham, Sir Thomas Fairfax, as commander in chief, sent on the twenty-eighth of February, 1644, a trumpet and a gentleman of quality with him to demand a friendly conference with the Lady Derby, to prevent, if it might be, all the mischief that would ensue by a misunderstanding and breach betwixt her ladyship and him. To this her ladyship consented: whereupon Sir Thomas Fairfax, and some gentlemen with him, immediately came from Ormskirk to Latham, and were admitted to her ladyship; but in the mean time, by the advice of Major Farmer, to prevent a surprise and sudden assault, her ladyship caused all her soldiers to be placed in very good order, under their respective officers, from the main guard in the first court, down to the great hall, where her ladyship had ordered Sir Thomas Fairfax to be received, and had placed all the rest of her men in open sight upon the walls and the tops of the towers, in such manner that they might appear to be both numerous and well disciplined; in hopes that this unexpected appearance of so much strength within, might give some terror to the enemy without, as she feared their great number might somewhat discourage her new-raised soldiers.

Sir Thomas Fairfax and the gentlemen with him being arrived at the house, were admitted and received by her ladyship with the greatest civility; whom, after a short respite, Sir Thomas acquainted her ladyship, that they were commanded by the parliament to reduce that house to their obedience; and that they were commissioned to offer

to her ladyship an honourable and safe removal with her children, servants, and all her goods, (arms and cannon only excepted) to her lord's house at Knowsley; and that she should enjoy one moiety of her lord's estate in all places in England, for the support of herself and children.

To this her ladyship answered, that she was there left under a double trust, one of loyalty and faith to her husband, the other of allegiance and duty to her sovereign; that till she had obtained their consent, she could not give up that house without manifest disloyalty and breach of trust to them both, therefore desired only one month's time to know their pleasure therein; and then, if she obtained their consent, she would quietly yield up the house; if not, she hoped they would excuse her if she endeavoured to preserve her honour and obedience, though in her own ruin.

To this Sir Thomas Fairfax replied, that it exceeded their commission to give her ladyship any further respite for consideration than one day, and so departed, observing in his recess from the house the situation and strength of it, and the order and regular disposal of the soldiers; as perhaps either conceiving the number of her soldiers to be greater than they were, or suspecting the resolution and courage of the common soldiers of his own party; or else, as being a person of greater honour and generosity than his confederates, judged it ignoble and unmanly to assault a lady of her high birth and quality in her own house, without any other provocation than keeping her lord's house, by his command; a lady that had left her country and kindred for the enjoyment of the protestant religion.

And agreeably thereto, at the first council of war after their return from the said conference, he declared himself against a present storm, (urged by some) and advised a regular siege, which advice was greatly advanced by a circumstance that occurred during the time of the conference or treaty with the lady. A captain of the parliament party

then before the house observing one of her ladyship's chaplains,* (whom the earl had left with her as a person well able to assist her with his counsel, and would be faithful to her in all her concerns,) who had received their education together, and were not only well acquainted, but intimate and familiar with each other; at the close of the before-mentioned parley with the lady, the captain getting an opportunity of free discourse with the said chaplain, attempted by direction from the commander of that party to gain from him the secrets of that counsel by which the lady had resolved to keep the house, and conjured him by virtue of their ancient friendship to tell him truly upon what confidence she proceeded to reject the offers made her by the parliament, and think to defend her house against so great a strength as was then before it encamped in the park.

To this the chaplain deriving on the same design with his lady, to avert a sudden assault, answered, that upon a firm promise of secrecy he would acquaint the captain with the truth and mystery of that counsel, viz. "That the lady had but little provision of victuals in the house; that she was oppressed with the number of her soldiers; that she would not be able to subsist above fourteen days, for want of bread to supply them; that she hoped they would give a sudden onset to the house, not from the multitude and courage of her soldiers to give them a repulse, nor upon her own strength to discourage the enemy to raise the siege; but in case they should continue a siege, she must inevitably be forced to surrender the place."

The captain, as the chaplain conjectured he would, as soon as he came to the council, imparted the conference with the chaplain as the grand secret of the lady and her captains; to which Sir Thomas Fairfax and the colonels with him giving credit, laid aside all thoughts of a sudden force, and resolved on a close and formal siege.

* The Rev. Mr. Rutter, afterwards Bishop.

Fourteen days being expired, Sir Thomas sent a summons by a trumpet to the lady to surrender the house immediately, supposing upon the infallible advice of the chaplain that her provisions were then all spent; but by this time her soldiers were well hardened, the walls well lined, the cannon well fitted, and the lady resolved to make a brave defence, and set the enemy at defiance. She therefore returned the following answer, "That as she had not lost her regard for the church of England, nor her allegiance to her prince, nor her faith to her lord, she could not therefore as yet give up that house; that they must never hope to gain it, till she had either lost all these or her life in defence of them."

Whereupon Sir Thomas Fairfax seeing the lady's resolution for a vigorous resistance, and that the chaplain had only abused the credulity of the confident captain, left Colonel Egerton commander in chief, and with him Major Morgan as engineer, to manage the siege; himself with his own troops being commanded by the parliament to other service.

Latham house stands on a flat, upon a moorish springy ground; was encompassed with a strong wall two yards thick; upon the walls were nine towers flanking each other, and in every tower were six pieces of ordnance, that played three one way, and three the other. Without the wall was a mote eight yards wide, and two yards deep; upon the back of the mote, between the wall and the graff, was a strong wall of palisadoes around; besides all these there was a high strong tower called the Eagle Tower, in the midst of the house, surmounting all the rest; and the Gate-house was also two high and strong buildings, with a strong tower on each side of it. In the entrance to the first court, upon the tops of these towers, were placed the best and choicest marksmen, who usually attended the earl in his hunting and other sports, as huntsmen, keepers, fowlers, and the like, who continually kept watch with

screued guns and long fowling-pieces upon these towers, to the great loss and annoyance of the enemy, especially of their commanders, who were frequently killed in their trenches, or as they came or went to or from them. Besides all that is said hitherto of the walls, tower, mote, &c. there is something particular and romantic in the general situation of this house, as if nature herself had formed it for a strong hold or place of security; for before the south and south-west is a rising ground so near it as to overlook the top of it, from which it falls so quick that nothing planted against it on those sides can touch it further than the front wall; and on the north and east sides there is another rising ground, even to the edge of the mote, and then falls away so quick that you can scarce at the distance of a carbine shot see the house over that height: so that all batteries placed there are so far below it as to be of little service against it. The uncommon situation of it may be compared to the palm of a man's hand, flat in the middle, and covered with a rising round about it; and so near to it, that the enemy in two years were never able to raise a battery against it so as to make a breach in the wall practicable to enter the house by way of storm. Now let us see how the enemy proceeded in the attack of it, after the departure of Sir Thomas Fairfax.

Colonel Egerton, pushed on by the inveterate malice and spite of Colonel Rigby, gave orders for drawing a line of circumvallation round about the house; which being observed by the lady and her officers, they resolved to give them some disturbance in their first approaches, and in a council agreed to make a sally upon them with 200 men under the command of Major Farmer, which was carried on with so much bravery and resolution, that they beat the enemy from all their trenches, and pursued them to their main guard, and even as far as prudence and good conduct would permit, without hazard of being intercepted in their retreat by the enemy's horse.

This sally was made the twelfth of March, 1644, wherein were killed about sixty of the enemy, and near as many more made prisoners, with the loss of only two men. After this smart attack by the besieged, the enemy doubled all their guards, drew new lines about the house at a greater distance, called in all the country, and made the poor men work in the trenches, where great numbers of them were slain by the frequent sallies from the house.

In about five weeks they finished their new line; and they run a deep trench near to the mote, and there raised a very strong battery, whereon they placed a large mortar-piece sent them from London, from which they cast about fifty stones of fifteen inches diameter into the house, as also grenadoes of the same size, alias bomb-shells; the first of which falling near the place where the lady and her children with all the commanders were seated at dinner, shivered all the room, but hurt no body.

The lady and her commanders observing the soldiers something terrified with the frequent shooting of those unusual and destructive fire-balls, resolved at a council of war to make a strong sally, and attempt the taking of that mortar-piece.

Besides the mortar-piece the enemy had twenty-nine short cannon, and five longer for grenadoes, with several other cannon, from which they fired upon the house many days. On the twelfth of April a cannon ball coming through the lady's chamber window, which did little damage, the sally above resolved on was put into execution. The van was commanded by that brave and loyal gentleman Capt. Molineux Radcliffe, the main body by Captain Chissenhall, and the reserve by Major Farmer; and in this order they assaulted the enemy's trenches with so much bravery, that after an hour's sharp dispute they made themselves masters of all their works, nailed up and overturned all their cannon, those they found upon carriages they rolled into the mote, and brought the mortar-piece into the house;

and continued masters of the enemy's works and trenches all that day, and with the utmost pains and diligence endeavoured to destroy and render useless every one of them.

During all this sharp and bloody fight, the heroic and most undaunted lady governess was without the gates, and sometimes near the trenches, encouraging her brave soldiers with her presence; and as she constantly began all her undertakings with prayers in her chapel, so she closed them with thanksgiving, and truly it was hard to say whether she was more eminent for courage, prudence, and steady resolution; or justice, piety, and religion. And I think we may justly infer, that the good providence of almighty God watchfully protected her from the evil designs and wicked machinations of her incensed and inveterate enemies, who, as the prisoners informed us, had about the time of our successful sally, projected to scale the walls on every side of the house with their whole army at one time, and to destroy the Countess of Derby, and all that belonged to her.

The enemy having rallied their soldiers, repossessed themselves the night following of their trenches, and for five or six days wrought with all their forces to repair the breaches that had been made, in which they were three times dislodged and scattered, by vigorous sallies from the house.

Colonel Rigby, in the mean time, taking occasion from the late defeat, accused Colonel Egerton of neglect and indolence in carrying on the siege, and got commission from the parliament to be commander in chief; and to give him his due, though a rebel, was neither wanting in care or diligence to distress the house. He denied a pass to three sick gentlemen to go out of the house, and would not suffer a midwife to go into the house to a gentlewoman in travail, nor a little milk for the support of young infants, but was every way severe and rude beyond the barbarity of a Turkish general. For a fortnight together he was

permitted to carry on his works without much disturbance, the house being in want of powder to make frequent sallies. But that defect being supplied by what they got in a sally, the lady proposed to the council of war to make a fresh assault upon all their trenches; which being agreed upon, Capt. Edward Rosthern had the van, Capt. Farmer the main body, and Capt. Chissenhall the reserve. These gentlemen behaved with their usual courage and resolution, beat the enemy from all their works, cleared the trenches, and nailed up all their cannon; in which service they slew 120 of the enemy, with the loss of only three soldiers, and five or six wounded.

The enemy having lain four months before the house, in which time they lost above two thousand men, Colonel Rigby sent the lady a summons of another nature than those formerly sent by Sir Thomas Fairfax or Colonel Egerton, viz. "That he required the lady would forthwith deliver up the house to the service of the parliament: that there was no hope of any relief from the king's forces, which were then in so low and desperate condition; and that if she refused to deliver it up upon that summons, she must hereafter expect the utmost severity of war."

Her ladyship having communicated this summons to the council of war, did with their unanimous consents return by the trumpet who brought it, (for she refused to give any answer in writing,) "Trumpet," said she, "tell that insolent rebel Rigby, that if he presumes to send any other summons to this place, I will hang up the messenger at the gates."

The Earl of Derby being at that time in the Isle of Man, and alarmed with the distress of his lady and children, well knowing her great and noble mind, that she would rather choose to perish than give up herself and them to Rigby's mercy and disposal, hastened from the island with all possible quickness, and with the utmost speed implored his majesty's favour for the relief of his lady and

distressed children. His Highness Prince Rupert having at that time happily gained a victory over the rebels at Newark, his majesty gave way that he should march through Lancashire to the relief of York, then besieged by the enemy. And to quicken his highness in his march, the Earl of Derby gave his soldiers a largess, or caress of three thousand pounds, which he had raised upon his lady's jewels, conveyed to him out of Latham house by a sally.

His Highness Prince Rupert entered Lancashire at Stockport bridge, where he defeated a party of the enemy commanded by Colonel Duckenfield, and some sent from Manchester to guard that pass. Rigby now hearing that the prince had entered the country, and fearing a visit from him, thought proper on the twenty-seventh of May, 1644, to raise the siege of Latham house, and march with all his strength, being about 2000 men, to Bolton, a garrison of the enemy's; which with the forces he found there, and some access from other places, made up an army of 2500 foot, and 500 horse; with these he resolved to give defiance to the prince, having there the advantage of high and strong mud walls, with which and a large ditch under them, the enemy had many months before environed that town.



AN ACCOUNT OF

THE SIEGE AND TAKING OF

BOLTON,

On the 28th of May, 1644, by his Highness Prince Rupert, commander in chief of the army of his uncle King Charles I.

THE Prince being advertised that the siege of Latham house was raised, and that Rigby with his army was fortified in Bolton, resolved to avenge the affronts and abuses put upon the brave and most noble Lady Derby, to whom he knew himself nearly allied by consanguinity of blood; therefore, waving their garrison of Manchester, he hastened to Bolton, which being but of a small circuit, and defended with three thousand men, his highness rightly judged would make a vigorous resistance: however, having called a council of war, ordered his post, and prepared for a storm, he gave directions for the assault, which was performed with much gallantry and resolution by his men; but being greatly annoyed from the wall by the enemy's cannon, and the multitudes of the defendants, they were obliged to retreat and quit the assault, with the loss of two hundred men.

His highness being greatly irritated and ruffled by this repulse, but especially by the barbarous cruelty of the enemy, who murdered his soldiers taken in the storm in cold blood, upon the walls before his eyes; he called a second council of war, wherein he proposed a second onset. The Earl of Derby considering how much he was concerned for his lady and children, who, unless the town was taken, would upon the prince's departure be again immediately besieged, requested his highness to allow him two

companies of his old soldiers, then under the command of Colonel Tyldesley, and to give him the honour to command the van, saying, He would either enter the town or leave his body in the ditch. His highness appeared unwilling to hazard a person of his worth in so desperate an action, but upon his importunity complied with his request; and things being prepared and ready, the prince gave orders for an assault on all parts of the town where it was possible to make any approaches.

The Earl of Derby with his two hundred men marched directly to the walls, and after a quarter of an hour's hot dispute, entered the first man himself, who being seconded with fresh supplies, the town was instantly attacked on every quarter. Rigby himself got away, but left 2000 of his men behind him, most of whom were slain upon the place, the prince forbidding to give quarter to any person then in arms, because they had so inhumanly murdered his men in cold blood.

This action was performed on the 28th of May, 1644; and the sudden and surprising conquest of this town, just after so smart a repulse, was chiefly attributed to the courage and resolution of the brave Earl of Derby, animated by a just concern for the sufferings of his noble lady and children, and the bravery of the two hundred Lancashire men he had the honour to command on that occasion, who all fought with equal ardour for the relief of their noble lady mistress, being all tenants and neighbours' sons, raised, clothed, armed, and trained by that valiant earl, but ungenerously and disgracefully taken from him by the king at Worcester; whose weak and easy temper proved afterwards the ruin of himself and his brave and gallant subject the Earl of Derby; who once, in all appearance, had interest and power sufficient, if a right use had been made thereof, to have delivered his majesty from the power and malice of all his enemies.

The prince having obtained this seasonable victory over

the rebels in Bolton, sent all the colours taken there by Sir Richard Lane to the Lady Derby, which her ladyship received as a singular honour as well as comfort, and caused them to be hung up in Latham house, as a happy remembrance of God's mercy and goodness to her and her family.

From this place, after some days rest, his highness was prevailed upon to march to Liverpool, to reduce that town, where the enemy had a strong garrison under the command of Colonel Moor, a worthy member of that rebellious junto who sat at Westminster, and took upon them to order and direct all the public affairs and government of the kingdom.

The following account of the siege of Bolton is given in Rushworth's Collections.

"On Tuesday, May 28th, 1644, Prince Rupert with his whole army, consisting of 10,000 men or upwards, appeared about two o'clock in the afternoon before the town of Bolton, approaching on the moor on the south-west part of it, but presently cast themselves into several bodies, and sent out scouts to discover where they might most advantageously enter. Those in the town prepared for their defence, and gave the assailants half an hour's smart entertainment; and repulsed them; but in the second attack, which was performed with all imaginable fury, a party of horse broke into the town, at a place called the Private Acres, it being suspected that a certain townsman, for a reward, had been their guide that way, as the most feasible passage. And they being once got in, every one endeavoured to shift for himself. The prince's forces rushed in on all quarters of the town, and put great numbers to the sword, pursuing the victory not only in the town, but some miles round, in out-houses, fields, highways, and woods, killing, destroying, and spoiling almost all they met with; and, as the townspeople alleged afterwards, denying quarter, and using other violences, besides totally plundering the town, and slaying four ministers. It was acknowledged by the

prince's own party, that they there put to the sword about 1200; but for this severity alleged, That the prince sending an officer to summon the town, they not only refused, but in defiance caused one of the prince's captains, whom they had taken not long before, to be hanged in his sight. But as I find not this captain's name any where mentioned, so the other party wholly denied that part of the story. On the Parliament's side two captains were slain; but Colonel Rigby, a counsellor at law, and member of the House of Commons, who commanded here in chief, escaped with some scattered forces to Bradford in Yorkshire."

The siege of Bolton is likewise thus described by a cavalier who was in the prince's army: "When first the prince came to the town, he sent a summons to demand the town for the king, but received no answer but from their guns, commanding the messenger to keep off at his peril. They had raised some works about the town; and having by their intelligence learnt that we had no artillery, and were only a flying party, (so they called us,) they contemned the summons, and showed themselves upon the ramparts ready for us. The prince was resolved to humble them, if possible, and take up his quarters close to the town. In the evening he ordered me to advance with one regiment of dragoons, and my horse to bring them off, if occasion was, and to post myself as near as I possibly could to the lines, yet so as not to be discovered. And at the same time, having concluded what part of the works to fall upon, he draws up his men on two other sides, as if he would storm them there; and on a signal I was to begin the real assault on my side with my dragoons, making them creep upon their bellies a great way, that we could hear the soldiers talk on the walls, when the prince believing one regiment would be too few, sent me word that he had ordered a regiment of foot to help, and that I should not discover myself till they were come up to me. This broke our measures; for the march of this regiment was

discovered by the enemy, and they took the alarm. Upon this I sent to the prince to desire he would put off the storm for that night, and I would answer for it the next day; but the prince was impatient, and sent orders we should fall on as soon as the foot came up to us. The foot marched out of the way, missed us, and fell in with a road that leads to another part of the town; and being not able to find us, made an attack upon the town themselves; but the defendants, being ready for them, received them very warmly, and beat them off with great loss. I was at a loss now what to do; for hearing the guns, and by the noise knowing it was an assault upon the town, I was very uneasy to have my share in it: but I resolved punctually to adhere to the execution of orders; and mine being to lie still until the foot came up with me, I would not stir if I had been sure to have done ever so much service. However, to satisfy myself, I sent to the prince to let him know that I continued in the same place expecting the foot, and none being yet come, I desired further orders. The prince was a little amazed at this, and finding there must be some mistake, came galloping away in the dark to the place, and drew off the men, which was no hard matter, for they were willing enough to give it over.

"As for me the prince ordered me to come off so privately as not to be discovered, which I effectually did; and so we were baulked for that night. The next day the prince fell on upon another quarter with three regiments of foot; but was beaten off with loss. At last the prince, resolved to carry it, doubled his numbers, and renewing the attack with fresh men, the foot entered the town over their works, killing in the first heat of the action all that came in their way; some of the foot at the same time letting in the horse; and so the town was entirely won."

AN ACCOUNT OF

THE SIEGE AND TAKING OF

LIVERPOOL,

June 26th, 1644.

UPON the prince's arrival near Liverpool, he was informed that it was well fortified with a strong and high mud wall, and a ditch of twelve yards wide, and near three yards deep, enclosing the town from the east end of the street called Dale Street, and so northward to the river; and from Dale Street end, east and south-east, being a low marshy ground, was covered with water from the river, and batteries erected within to cover or guard against all passage over or through that water: all the street ends to the river were shut up, and those to the land enclosed with strong gates, defended by cannon. All useless women and children were sent to their friends in the country, on both sides the river. There was also a strong castle on the south, surrounded with a ditch of twelve yards wide, and ten yards deep, from which to the river was a covered way, through which the ditch was covered with water; and by which, when the tide was out, they brought in men, provisions, and stores of war, as occasion required. In and upon this castle were planted many cannon, as well to annoy the besiegers at a distance, as to cover the ships in the harbour, which was then where the dock is now; and at the entrance thereof was a fort of eight guns to guard that, and to prevent all passages by the river side at low water. Besides all these advantages of defence, there was one most unhappy circumstance to many distressed families, but very lucky to the besieged; for in those distracted, confused, and rebellious times, the English protestants had

great numbers of them been massacred in Ireland, and those who escaped with life, obliged to fly to England for refuge and safety, brought with them all the effects they possibly could for support, amongst which was great quantities of wool. The besieged covered the tops of their mud walls with bags of wool, which saved them greatly from the small shot of the besiegers. The garrison within was numerous, and stored with arms and ammunition of all kinds, and in this state thought themselves able to give the prince a hearty welcome on his visitation of them.

Liverpool is situate upon a ridge of land, on the east side of the river Mersey, running from the north side of the town for about a mile to the south side thereof, where it falls to a flat; but in its form, for the most part, declines on the west side to the river, and on the east side to the country.

The town was at that time but small, either in appearance or reality, to what it is now; however the fortifications of it then included most of all the town as it is at present. The river is about a mile broad from bank to bank, and of depth sufficient for reception of the largest ships up to the town. The country near it is high land, which renders it unfit to sustain a long siege. This made the prince upon his near approach and view of the town, being unacquainted with its situation, (one side declining to the country, and the other to the river, as before mentioned, so that he could see but little of it,) to compare it to a crow's nest; but ere he became master of it, he said it might have been an eagle's nest, or a den of lions.

He fixed his main camp round the beacon, a large mile from the town, and his officers in the villages near it, from whence he brought a detachment every day to open the trenches, and erect batteries. The latter were mostly placed upon the ridge of ground running from the north of Townsend Mill, to the present copper works and mills, and the trenches in the lower grounds under them. He

relieved his trenches and batteries from his camp every twenty-four hours; and from them he battered the town, and attacked the besieged and their works very frequently by way of storm; but was afterwards repulsed, with great slaughter of his soldiers, for the space of a month or near it, when some say the besieged on the north side deserted the works and the guard of them; but others say, that Colonel Moor, observing they would be taken, to ingratiate himself with the prince, and to save his house and effects at Bank-Hall near it, gave direction to the soldiers to retreat from those works. But be that as it will, deserted they were on the north side, and the prince's army entered the town on that side about three in the morning, and put all to the sword they met with, from their entrance to the High Cross, which stood where the exchange is now; and there they found a regiment of soldiers from the castle, drawn up in battle array, who beat a parley, and demanded quarter; which on treaty they were allowed, but without any other articles than prisoners of war, and surrender of the castle, with their persons and arms; upon which they were all sent to the tower, St. Nicholas' church, &c. the prince taking possession of the castle himself.

His highness having reduced Liverpool, was entreated by the Lord Derby to take Latham house in his march to York, and there refresh himself and his men for a few days, which he was pleased to comply with; and on his coming to Latham, found that house most strangely shattered by the enemy's cannon and mortar-pieces. However he was with all his chief commanders treated agreeably to the greatness of his person and merit, and with all the expressions of thankfulness, by the Earl of Derby and his most renowned lady, for his seasonable relief of them and their noble family.

The prince having viewed and well considered the commodious situation of Latham house, and the strength of the towers, with their regular position for the defence of

one another, and of the walls, &c. gave directions for adding to them bastions, counterscarps, and all other out-works necessary for the better defence thereof upon another siege, when it should happen; and then, at the request of the Lady Derby, gave the government and keeping of the house to the care and conduct of Capt. Edward Rosthern, whom the prince made colonel of a regiment of foot, and gave him two troops of horse for its defence.

Captain Chissenhall, another of those brave commanders who had well deserved honour, not only in the siege of that house, but on other remarkable actions, was also by the prince made colonel of a regiment of foot, and marched with his highness to York.

The prince having now recruited his army with men, arms, ammunition, and all other necessaries for his march, desired the Earl of Derby to return to his charge in the Isle of Man, being probably better acquainted with those undeserved jealousies and suspicions still subsisting against him, than the earl himself was; and with the apprehensions some great ones about the king had of a misapplication of too much power intrusted with him who had so near an alliance to the crown. He therefore urged the earl to a compliance with his request, and to take his lady and children with him, as not knowing yet what might be the issue of the war in England; adding that the children of such a father, and such a mother, might in their generation become as useful and serviceable to their prince as their parents had been.

Sometime after this, the battle of Marston Moor being lost by the prince, the enemy, as was expected, sat down again before Latham house, which, though strengthened with such out-works as the prince had directed, was much weakened within by the consumption of their provisions by the prince's army, and the want of powder and match, which his highness had borrowed for the supply of his army, on their march from thence to York.

However, the new governor, Colonel Rosthern, was neither wanting in care or diligence, nor in any good offices, for the supply of the garrison with provisions and all other necessaries for sustaining a siege. And it was a great advantage to him that the Earl of Derby, on his return to the Isle of Man, had left him in the house the chaplain, whose fidelity and great capacity his lady had long and full experience of; also another gentleman, of good understanding and integrity, to attend all his affairs in England. These gentlemen were to assist the governor by their counsel and services, and to raise what money they possibly could out of his estate for the constant payment of the soldiers; and they made the best use of the opportunity they had whilst the house was open, and raised a very considerable sum of money, by which they furnished the garrison with provisions, ammunition, and all other necessaries.

This being done, the governor disposed the soldiers to their respective officers. The commanders of horse were Major Munday and Captain Key, and those of foot were Capt. Charnock, Capt. Farrington, Capt. Molineux Radcliffe, Capt. Henry Noel, Capt. Worrel, and Capt. Roby.

In July, 1645, the enemy again advanced with 4000 men to their head quarters at Ormskirk, under their old General Egerton; for Rigby upon the loss of his men at Bolton was laid aside. The governor, Colonel Rosthern, on information of their advance and strength, ordered out a strong party of horse and foot. The first was commanded by Major Munday, the foot by Capt. Molineux Radcliffe, and the rear was brought up by the governor himself; and in this order they attacked the enemy's camp and quarters with so much courage, resolution, and bravery, that they took all the guards of the enemy, both horse and foot, routed their whole body, of which they killed and took many, the general himself with difficulty escaping by flying away in his shirt and slippers.

But that which was the greatest advantage to them was

the enemy's magazine of powder, which was taken and brought to Latham, and was their great increase of store for support of the siege which afterwards ensued. In this exploit, Colonel John Tempest, who served only as a volunteer, did most worthy and excellent service. The governor animated the whole action, and indeed exposed himself to more hazard and danger than he need to have done as commander in chief.

This gallant attempt and success so amazed the enemy, and encouraged the troops of Latham, that for three weeks, in which time the enemy were largely recruited, they continued masters of the field, and after braved the enemy every day in their quarters for twelve months together. But notwithstanding their great numbers, and utmost endeavours, they were never able to advance nearer than Ormskirk, where they were in a manner as much besieged as the others were in Latham house.

But the ammunition of the garrison being now almost spent, and they out of hopes of receiving their store from Manchester, &c. as formerly, and their intelligence with some friends there being discovered, they were obliged to suspend all action abroad, and suffer the enemy to make nearer approaches to the house, and confine them closer within their own bounds.

Major Morgan, being the enemy's engineer, drew a line a flight-shot from the house, not intending either to batter or storm it, but only to hinder them from going abroad, and to straiten and prevent them from getting in provisions, or any other supplies. The trench of his line was three yards wide, and two yards deep; and upon the rampire of the ditch he raised eight strong forts, wherein their soldiers might lie with some security, and be able to relieve one another upon sallies from the house.

Upon the north side of the house, which was the lowest ground, he run a deep trench near the very mote, hoping thereby to lay it dry, and then to undermine the house;

but there being within it some skilful colliers, who had as much experience in mining and drawing off water as he was master of, and they being employed by the governor to oppose him, always wrought counter to him; and keeping full chambers of water above him, they at pleasure opened them, and drowned both his works and men, to their entire disappointment and confusion.

Thus by the diligence, skill, and courage of the besieged, was this house full two years most gallantly and bravely defended against all the contrivance and force of the enemy, wherein they lost at least 6000 men, and the garrison about 400.

The king was at this time upon his march for the relief of his brave and loyal subjects in Latham house, and with intent to have transferred the war to Lancashire, but was unhappily defeated at Rowton Heath, near Chester; upon which misfortune he gave orders to the earl's chaplain before mentioned (whom he had sent for to give him a state of the house and country about it) to advertise the governor that it was his majesty's pleasure he should accept a treaty with the enemy, and endeavour to procure from them as good terms as they could possibly obtain, since it was not in his power to relieve them.

His majesty's commission by the chaplain being got into the house, the governor, like a wise and prudent commander, resolved to accept the first opportunity of a treaty which the enemy might offer; either induced thereto by their long service and severe sufferings in that memorable siege, or being ignorant of the true state of the place, which, for ought they knew, might be furnished with all necessaries for many months' resistance, and they despairing of success, requested that commissioners might be appointed on both sides to treat of a surrender.

Commissioners were accordingly appointed, and a place of meeting agreed upon, wherein those on the part of the beseigers offered, That if the governor and officers with

him would surrender the house and all the cannon, they should be permitted to march away with bag and baggage, drums beating, and colours flying; and that the Lady Derby and her children should enjoy the third part of the earl's estate, for their maintenance; and that all his goods should be safely conveyed to his other house at Knowsley, and there secured for his lordship and family's use; that all gentlemen in the house should compound at one year's value for their estates; and that every clergyman in the house should enjoy half the revenue of his living, and should live quietly, without any oath imposed upon them.

These terms were judged reasonable by two of the commissioners appointed by the garrison, but the third would by no means consent unless they might take away the cannon also, whose indiscretion and obstinate perverse humour broke off the treaty, to the ruin of the besieged; for that very night after the return of the commissioners, an Irish soldier in the garrison went down by the wall, and swimming over the mote, got to the enemy's camp, and immediately informed the commanding officers there that the rejection of their proposals, and the breaking of the treaty, were highly displeasing to the garrison; and that there was not bread in the house for two days, nor any other provisions or stores to hold out the siege any longer.

On this information, the enemy next morning summoned the garrison to an immediate surrender of the house and themselves prisoners, on the bare terms of mercy, which the soldiers, being all in confusion, resolved to accept of, notwithstanding all entreaties of the governor to the contrary, who gallantly and bravely proposed to them to join him, and fight their way through the enemy sword in hand, and either by that means to save themselves with honour and reputation, or bravely die in the attempt. But the worthy and valiant governor not being heard by them, the house was yielded up to a merciless enemy, and all the rich goods therein became a booty to them. The rich silk

hangings of the beds, &c. were torn to pieces, and made sashes of; the towers and all the strong works razed to the ground and demolished, and all the buildings within it, leaving only standing two or three little timber buildings, as a monument of their fury and malice.

And thus was ruined and brought to destruction, (partly by the obstinacy and indiscretion of one man, and the treachery of another,) even to a cottage or heap of rubbish, the ancient, noble, and almost invincible house of Latham, whose antiquity, famous siege, and most heroic and gallant defence, can never be forgot whilst history remains in the world.

No more ought to be buried in oblivion the heroic and most gallant behaviour of those brave and martial spirits, who were instrumental and assisting in the ever-memorable defence of that place. And although none of them, except Captain Farmer, Major Munday, and Captain Key, were bred in a military way, except as a county militia, yet I think it may with modesty and justice be asserted, that no officers of any degree, bred in the school of Mars or elsewhere, ever showed more conduct, courage, and magnanimity, than those brave and worthy gentlemen (to their honour and everlasting fame let it be recorded) that defended Latham house, against the powerful attacks of a formidable enemy, assisted by a far superior force, and an open country for supply.

Having now given the reader the particulars of the memorable siege and surrender of Latham house, dispatched his Highness Prince Rupert to the relief of York, and sent by his advice the noble Earl of Derby and his most worthy family as exiles to the Isle of Man, I cannot, on these occasions, omit a few thoughts and animadversions upon these subjects.

As to the prince's advice and intention to the noble earl and his family, I look upon that as sincere and without guile; but the reasons offered us to induce it, I esteem no

less than mere court cant, calculated with no other intent than to asperse, degrade, and vilify that noble lord, and to stigmatize him with infamy and disgrace, as a person carrying on private designs and views of his own interest, separate from those of his royal master.

And in this light I have respected and considered the actions and conduct of his whole life, as well before as after the commencement of the unhappy war then subsisting; and I cannot discover in the course of it the least inclination or tendency, in any of his actions, to aggrandize himself or family at the expence of his prince's honour, interest, or safety; but, on the contrary, that he had, agreeable to the tender made by him to his majesty at York, at his first appearance there, assisted him to the utmost of his power, with his person, interest, and fortune, to the entire consumption of the latter, and in the end the total destruction of the first.

But let us yet go a little further, and consider that frightful article of his near alliance to the crown, as one reason given us for his exclusion from all favour, power, or trust, under the king; and having duly weighed the nature thereof, we shall find it as light upon the balance as the former, consisting more in imagination than reality, more in pride, envy, malice, calumny, and court faction, than any evil designs or intentions of the noble lord here accused, vilified, and contemned by the court parasites, who being in favour, power, or trust with the prince, admit of no rivals; and that calumny, defamation, and detraction, are with them esteemed fashionable and courtly accomplishments.

Lastly, let us consider that the latent and dormant title to the crown by the Earl of Derby, on which so much stress appears to be laid, was at that time removed to so great a distance, that nothing less than downright rebellion could have revived or supported his pretensions, if any. And the ancestors of the royal family now on the throne

being then in full life, nay, one of them then his majesty's general, and the king himself having then issue both male and female, rendered any project or attempt of this kind utterly impracticable to men of thought; and the well known worth, ability, most loyal and dutiful endeavours of the great Lord Derby for his majesty's service, interest, and safety, plainly contradicted and gave the lie to all those invidious, malicious, and scandalous insinuations and suggestions, spread by the enemies of the noble lord's integrity, innocency, and justice.

Like causes usually produce the same or like effects, in an established rule with respect to men as well as things; from whence it is observed, that those favourites who have advanced themselves at court by mere dint of address, and by mean, unmanly, and unbecoming arts of flattery and fawning sedulity, unknown to and scorned by men of real abilities, have been always fatal to the nation; and that where the actions and resolutions of men of integrity, loyalty, and real ability to serve the prince and country, have been discouraged and treated with indignity and contempt. The place, unity, and welfare of the whole, hath generally suffered violent convulsions, and uncommon changes, if not the total ruin of the prince, as in the case before us.

And with respect to the great and noble lord here treated of, who may be esteemed of the number of those discouraged and treated with contempt by his prince, or the sycophant courtiers about him, or both; he acted steadily and zealously, on principles of liberty, and the common good of mankind. He maintained them in all seasons, and was ashamed to be at ease when his king and country suffered. And the vigour with which he exerted himself against those to whom both owed their sufferings (unhappily to him and his noble family) brought on his own much to be lamented hard fate, well known to the world.

Having just left the famous house of Latham in ashes,

I have only to remark that many curious and notable transactions occurred during the siege thereof, which could not properly be related in the common course of this story, but well deserve to be remembered.

The Rev. and worthy chaplain of the house, Mr. Rutter, managed all correspondence and intelligence by ciphers and characters; and made use of a woman, one widow Read, of that neighbourhood, to bring in and carry out dispatches of that nature, by the assistance of sallies appointed for that purpose, upon a signal given by her to the house when she wanted to come in.

This secret and most hazardous service she most faithfully carried on for above a year, but was at last most unhappily taken with ciphers about her, some for his majesty King Charles, some for the Lord Byron at Chester, and others to some correspondents at Manchester. She was required to tell to whom those characters at Manchester were directed, for the enemy could not discover or interpret them; but she stoutly refused to confess any thing relating to them. They threatened her with severe punishment if she would not declare what she knew of them; but she still persisted in her integrity. She was then burnt with matches betwixt her fingers so long that three fingers of each hand were burnt off; yet the woman, beyond the resolution of her sex, or of any woman upon record, suffered all those tortures with invincible patience, and would discover nothing.

Amongst the officers, the brave and gallant Captain Molineux Radcliffe merits perpetual remembrance for his most valiant services. He commanded in the van in twelve sallies, and always brought off his men with success; but at last this gallant gentleman had the misfortune to be slain in storming a fort of the enemy's.

Capt. Charles Radcliffe, Capt. Henry Noel, Capt. Roby, and Capt. Worral, all behaved themselves with the greatest

courage and resolution, and deserved better recompence than the king's affairs would allow them to expect.

Major Munday and Captain Key, who commanded the horse, were certainly no way inferior to any officers of horse in the king's army; a specimen of which immediately follows.

Major Munday, during the siege, being challenged to fight his troop against so many of the enemy, cheerfully accepted the challenge. Both troops were drawn out into the park, in the sight of the house and the enemy's army. In the engagement the major received a shot in the side of his face, by which an artery being cut, he bled excessively; he therefore desired the lieutenant to make good the fight until he got the artery sewed up. The fight was made good till the major returned, and then upon the first charge the enemy fled, and he took most of the troop prisoners. This brave and worthy gentleman, after the siege of Latham, retired to his own country; but returning into England again with his majesty King Charles II. when he marched from Scotland to Worcester, had the misfortune to be taken prisoner by the merciless rebels, and being known by them, was for his bravery shot to death in cold blood.

Capt. Key being also challenged by a trumpet from the enemy, to fight hand to hand on horseback with Capt. Asmall, a captain of the adverse party, accepted the challenge. Both troops met in the park, and stood aloof whilst the captains fought single. In the engagement Capt. Asmall having discharged both his pistols at Capt. Key without much effect, Key immediately rode up to him, and thrust him through the neck with his javelin, on which he fell down dead from his horse. Capt. Key alighting, took him up in the face of his own troop, and flung him upon his own horse, and brought him into the house. Then Capt. Key's lieutenant offered to fight Asmall's lieutenant hand to hand, or troop to troop; but they refused the offer, and fled to their main body.

The worthy chaplain who had managed all the intelligence of the house, having lost his old friend the widow Read, who had most faithfully served him in that way to her death, after some time found another expedient, by means of a hound dog which he observed frequently to come and go betwixt his master at Latham house and his mistress about three miles off. He got private notice to the gentlewoman, that as oft as the dog came home she should look about his neck, and she would find a thread with a little paper wrapt about, which he requested she would send to his majesty; and when any papers were sent to her to come into the house, directed that she would tie them in like manner about the dog's neck, and keep him awhile hungered, then open the door and beat him out.

And thus the poor dog, being beaten backward and forward, conveyed all intelligence into and from the house for nine months together; till at last, leaping over the enemy's works in his way to the house, an angry ill-natured soldier shot him; but he got to the mote side near the gate with his dispatches, and there died, by which Mr. Rutter lost his useful servant the dog.

However, though he could not contrive to furnish himself in the same way, yet he found out another expedient to answer near the same ends, but with greater advantage to the garrison; for by a correspondence he had formed with some trusty and hearty friends of the neighbourhood, they had agreed to make fires in the night upon the rising grounds at a distance from the house, as signals that corn, meal, and other provisions, were laid there ready for the besieged. On the appearance of those signals, the governor sent out thirty or forty soldiers, by way of sally, to fetch them into the house; who, being directed by those fires, always found what they wanted, and the night following brought them to the garrison.

On other nights different soldiers were sent on the same errand, who never failed of success. And by this means

the garrison was constantly supplied, until they were so closely confined by the enemy, and their numbers in the house declining so much, that they were not able to make their usual sallies for relief, which reduced them to the scarcity related at the time of their surrender.

But what may be greatly admired (even with wonder and surprise) was, that not one of all those soldiers sent out on those desperate occasions, and venturing their lives for a little bread, with which they were to fight their way into the house, for the relief of themselves and friends, ever deserted the service, or stayed out of time, but constantly returned with their fellows at the time expected, and were received and treated by their commanders with generosity, and the justice due to their courage, merit, and fidelity.

The allowance of corn, meal, &c. thus brought into the house, was distributed and divided in the most equal manner from the governor to the meanest soldier. Three quarters of a pound was weighed to each man alike; the horses that were killed in the service they broiled upon coals, and frequently eat without either bread or salt.

That which proved a great relief to them was plenty of fuel; for the colliers being set to dig, by way of trial, found coals and water in abundance within the house, to their great comfort, the water in the mote being spoiled and rendered unfit for use by the enemy.

There was amongst the soldiers about £30 in money, but of no use at all to them but to play at span-counter with. They lent it to one another by handfuls, never telling or counting any. One day one soldier had all, and the next another. But at last all their sport was spoiled; the enemy at the gate stripped them of every penny, and turned them out to the wide world.

When the house was given up, there were but 200 foot soldiers in it; and of all their horse but five left alive, the rest being all eaten up. The common soldiers were all

discharged, but their gallant and brave commanders were all made close prisoners, and so continued a long time after.

Having now given the reader all the remarkable occurrences attending the famous siege of Latham house, and noted the eminent conduct, courage, and memorable behaviour of those brave and worthy gentlemen who engaged themselves in the defence thereof; I am now arrived at a period of time, wherein I find the whole kingdom involved in the greatest disorder and distraction, portending nothing less than the ruin of the whole constitution in church and state. The very face and appearance of all public and even private affairs being quite changed, the whole nation was in a most deplorable state and confusion. Nothing being known or heard of but imprisonments, prosecutions, sequestrations, and executions of his majesty's most loyal and dutiful friends, subjects, and servants.

Upon information of these things (as his lordship's Memoirs continue) I inquired further how affairs stood with the king, and was told that his majesty's army, under the command of his nephew Prince Rupert, was entirely defeated and dispersed at Marston Moor, by the Earl of Manchester; and that, not long after, the king himself was vanquished and totally routed at Naseby, the 14th of June, 1645, the loss whereof reduced him to a most unhappy situation of life, having not so much as a common guard left him for the security of his person, being obliged to fly from place to place with the utmost privacy, to prevent his being taken prisoner; and not knowing where to go for safety and protection from his furious and inveterate enemies, at last unhappily fell a sacrifice into their hands, being seized by a party of Cromwell's soldiers, and carried by them prisoner to Hurst castle, and from thence hurried from prison to prison, till at last he was brought to a formal trial before a court established by his own subjects, who

accused him of having made war against his parliament, and had him condemned and beheaded, upon a scaffold raised under the windows of his palace of Whitehall, on Tuesday the 30th of January, 1648-9.

A shocking scene of iniquity and usurpation, the very thoughts whereof struck me with horror, and methought was sufficient to have melted the heart of the most hardened and abandoned wretch concerned in such iniquitous and barbarous proceedings, as the destruction of their natural and rightful prince, and the extirpation of his royal family to the utmost of their power.

But the goodness of our gracious God is ever with them that love and fear him; and although he is the protector and support of all under oppression and distress, yet sometimes he postpones the punishment for great and wise reasons unknown to us; yet to show the power of his wrath, and his care of the innocent and distressed, sooner or later his avenging hand will overtake all wicked and evil doers. It is observed by a learned author* in the case before us, that not only those very persons immediately concerned in the murder of that king, and in all the confusions the nation was involved in by their means, were in a short time reduced to a state of contempt, but their posterity branded with ignominy and disgrace, attended with their utter extirpation from the face of the earth, scarcely one of them being left or known in the world at this time.

But what remains to be much lamented, is that the mischief, misery, and persecution of those virulent times ended not here. The Prince of Wales being then in exile, those rebellious sons of perdition called the parliament, published a prohibition against proclaiming him king, with a penalty of punishment as in cases of high treason, and afterwards passed an act for abolishing the regal power as useless, burthensome, and dangerous; and soon after set

* History of Independency.

a price upon the head of Charles Stuart, the late king's eldest son.

And under this melancholy, dejected, and uncomfortable state, the nation languished in misery, persecution, and deep distress, to the year 1650, when the Scots took up arms in favour of Charles II. whom they had recalled in order to set him upon the throne of his father. His coronation was soon after solemnized at Scoon, the first of January, 1650-1; and afterwards he put himself at the head of an army of 15,000 foot and 3000 horse, and with them entered England, and proceeded as far as Worcester, where he was honourably received.

During the interval of time betwixt Lord and Lady Derby and their family's retiring to the Isle of Man, and the king's execution, many particulars occurred that cannot well be omitted, to wit, the rebels repossessed themselves of all places of strength, and of the castle of Liverpool in particular, whereof the worthy Colonel Birch was made governor.

In the year 1646, the parliament, moved with the tears, cries, and prayers of the distressed wives, widows, and fatherless children of their fellow subjects, and even relations, made an ordinance for their relief, to wit:

Goldsmith's Hall, London.

At a Committee for compounding with Delinquents, Nov. 29th, 1646.

"WHEREAS by an order of the honourable House of Commons in Parliament assembled, of the twenty third of February, 1645, this committee is authorized and enabled to suspend the sequestrations of such delinquents as shall compound with the said committee; they having paid the moiety of such fine, and given security for the other moiety, and to stand to such composition as shall be allowed of, or set by the House of Commons. These are to certify all whom it may concern, &c."

County of Lancaster, Warrington, July 11, 1645.

"ACCORDING to the direction of the ordinance of Parliament, it is this day ordered, that Mrs. Jane Eccleston, late wife and relict of Thomas Eccleston, of Eccleston, Esq. deceased, shall have allowed unto her, for the maintenance of herself and children, one fifth part of her husband's estate, according to the direction of the said ordinance, she paying her proportionable part of all lays and taxations that may be imposed upon that estate; and the sequestrators for the same are hereby appointed to see a fifth part set forth accordingly with all convenient speed.

T. Stanley.
Peter Egerton.
Edw. Buttersworth.

And in the year 1647, encouraged by the above ordinance and order, the children of the Earl of Derby, having procured a pass from Sir Thomas Fairfax for that purpose, came over from the Isle of Man to England, to procure a fifth part of their father's estate for their support and education, according to the aforesaid ordinance; and after a year's solicitation in manner following, obtained an allowance of a fifth thereof.

HUYTON PARISH.

To the Right Honourable the Committee of Lords and Commons for Sequestration.

"THE humble petition of Charles Lord Strange, Edward, and William, and of the Ladies Henrietta Maria, Catherine, and Amelia, six sons and daughters of James Earl of Derby, sheweth, that the petitioners, by reason of the sequestration of their father's estate, are wholly deprived of all manner of support for their livelihood and education, and so have been for many years past: That by the honourable favour of both houses of Parliament, an allowance is declared to be given his wife and children, of

which that the petitioners may have the benefit is the humble suit of the petitioners.

And they shall ever pray.

Henrietta Maria Stanley."

A true Copy exhibited by me, R. Vaughan, Clerk of the Court.

Wednesday, Sept. 8, 1647.

"AT the committee of Lords and Commons for sequestration, upon the petition of the Right Honourable Charles Lord Strange, Edward, William, Henrietta Maria, Catharine, and Amelia, the sons and daughters of James Earl of Derby, (a copy whereof is hereunto annexed, and attested with the clerk's hand of this committee,) it is thought fit and ordered that the said children be allowed a fifth part for their maintenance, according to the said ordinance, from the time of their demand: And that the manor of Knowsley, in the county of Lancaster, with the house, lands, and appurtenances in Lancashire thereto belonging, be part of the said fifth part: And that no timber be felled upon the said earl's lands, but that the same be preserved according to the order of sequestration.

Intra. R. Vaughan. Henry Pelham."

HUYTON PARISH.

"Manchester, in the county of Lancaster.

"At a Committee, Sept. 24, 1647.

"WHEREAS we have received an order of the committee of Lords and Commons for sequestrations, bearing date the eighth of September last, for allowance of a fifth part of the estate of James Earl of Derby, unto the Right Honourable Charles Lord Strange, Edward, William, Henrietta Maria, Catharine, and Amelia, the sons and daughters of the said earl; in pursuance whereof it is ordered that the agents for sequestration where the estate of the said earl lieth, shall from the said eighth day of

this instant September, set forth and allow unto the said children a fifth part of the said estate, whereof the manor of Knowsley, with the house, lands, and appurtenances, in the said county, are to be part thereof; and that the agents take special care that no timber be cut down and felled upon the said earl's lands, but preserved according to the ordinance of Parliament. And the said agents are to yield obedience and conformity hereunto, until further orders.

J. Bradshaw.
Peter Egerton.
Intra. T. Whalley. Edw. Buttersworth."

"Wednesday, Sept. 8, 1647.

"At the Committee of Lords and Commons for Sequestration.

"WHEREAS this committee have formerly appointed Colonel John Moor ranger of Knowsley park, in the county of Lancaster, by order of the third of December, 1646. And whereas now, in the absence of the said colonel, who is now in the service of Ireland, there is no care taken for preserving the game, as also the timber of the said park, from destruction; it is thought fit and ordered that Mr. Edward Stockley be appointed ranger of the said park of Knowsley, in the colonel's absence, for preservation of the said game and timber; unless the committee of the said county of Lancaster, wherein the said park lieth, shall certify cause to the contrary to this committee.

Intra. R. Vaughan. Henry Pelham."

HUYTON PARISH.

"Manchester, in the County of Lancaster.

"At the Committee, Sept. 24, 1647.

"WHEREAS we have received an order of the committee of Lords and Commons for sequestration, bearing

date the eighth of September last, for the appointing of Mr. Edward Stockley to be ranger of Knowsley park, in the absence of Colonel John Moor, who was appointed ranger of the said park by the said committee, and is now in the service of Ireland; in pursuance whereof it is ordered that the said Mr. Stockley shall from henceforth, and until further order, be ranger of the said park, and shall preserve the game and timber therein from waste and destruction, according to the said order: and the agents for sequestration, and all others whom it may concern, are to yield obedience hereunto accordingly.

J. Bradshaw.
Peter Egerton.
Intra. T. Whalley. Edw. Buttersworth."

HUYTON PARISH.

"THESE are to require you, upon sight hereof, forthwith to remove yourself, wife, family, and goods, out of the Right Honourable the Earl of Derby's house at Knowsley, without offering any hurt or violence to the said house and goods in it, the park, or any thing thereunto belonging. Of this you are not to fail, as you will answer the contrary at your peril. Given under my hand and seal this last day of August, 1647.

Thomas Fairfax.

To Major Jackson, at Knowsley house,
or at Liverpool."

"THESE are to require you, upon sight hereof, forthwith to see Major Jackson, his wife, family, and goods, removed out of the Right Honourable the Earl of Derby's house at Knowsley, according to my order directed also to him; and to have a special care that the said Major Jackson doth no hurt to the said house and goods left in it, park, or any thing thereunto belonging. Of this you are not to fail, but return an answer to it speedily, as you will

answer to the contrary at your peril. Given under my hand and seal this last day of August, 1647.

Thomas Fairfax.

To Lieut. Col. John Ashurst,
Governor of Liverpool."

After all the formality above related, the children of the noble Earl of Derby were at last permitted to their father's house at Knowsley, wherein Sir Thomas Fairfax had been very civil and generous, as indeed he was upon all occasions, in a gentleman-like manner. But envy and malice are enemies that never sleep; for they had not been there above twelve months before Colonel Birch, complying with Bradshaw, the bloody president, made them all prisoners at Liverpool, where he was then governor, and all their servants with them, not allowing any of them one morsel of bread, which they were obliged to beg for from their impoverished friends, and other kind and compassionate acquaintance. And all the pretence for this cruel, unchristian, and barbarous usage, was, that the earl their father kept the Isle of Man against the Parliament, though it was his own estate.

General Fairfax, on being addressed and complained to by the unhappy sufferers, sent a message in writing to the earl their father, purporting, "That if his lordship would deliver that island to the parliament's commands, his children should not only be set at liberty, but he should peaceably return to England, and enjoy one moiety of all his estate." To which his lordship returned this answer: "That he was greatly afflicted for the sufferings of his children; that it was not the course of great and noble minds to punish innocent children for their father's offences; that it would be a clemency in Sir Thomas Fairfax either to send them back to him, or to Holland, or to France; but if he could do none of these, his children must submit to the mercy of God Almighty, but should never be re-

deemed by his disloyalty." Thus they continued prisoners for eighteen months together, without compassion, mercy, or relief from the parliament, or any of their hard-hearted, unrelenting officers, until their father was by his majesty's command called from the Isle of Man to attend him in Lancashire, on his march from Scotland to Worcester, when Birch, fearing his lordship would knock at his gates for his children, sent them and their servants away prisoners to Chester.

The great and noble earl being called into England by King Charles II. to meet him in Lancashire, with full assurance from his majesty that not only his own party, but the presbytery also would join him, in order to his majesty's restoration in England, his lordship hastened over, and brought with him above 300 gallant gentlemen, who were at that time with his lordship in the Isle of Man. His lordship made all possible speed to have met the king in Lancashire, but it so happened, that his majesty had marched through that county three days before he could get over; however he left Major General Massey to receive him.

Upon notice whereof his lordship hasted to Warrington, where he met the major general, who that very night brought in many of the presbyterian party to his lordship. His lordship acquainted them that he was come to do his majesty all the service in his power; that the king had given him assurance under his own hand, (of which he gave them a sight,) that all those gentlemen of that persuasion would be ready to join with him; that he was to that end ready to receive whoever were pleased to come to him, and with them to march immediately to his majesty.

To this one of their ministers, in behalf of himself and the rest of his brethren, replied to his lordship, "That he hoped, and so did all the gentlemen with him, that his lordship would put away all the papists he had brought from the Isle of Man, and that he himself would take the

covenant; and then they would all join with him." His lordship replied, "Sir, I hope this is only your own opinion, and therefore I desire that the gentlemen present will be pleased to deliver their own sentiments:" when all made answer, "That their minister had spoken their thoughts: adding, that his majesty had taken the covenant, and thereby gave encouragement to all his subjects to do the same; and that if his lordship would not put away all papists, and enter publicly into the solemn league, they could not join him."

To this his lordship replied, "That upon these terms he might long since have been restored to his whole estate, and that blessed martyr Charles I. to all his kingdom; that he came not now to dispute, but to fight for his majesty's restoration, and would upon the issue of the first battle humbly submit himself to his majesty's direction in that point; that he would refuse none of any persuasion whatsoever, that came in cheerfully to serve the king; and hoped they would give him the same freedom and latitude, to engage whom he could for his majesty's preservation; and that he was well assured, that all those gentlemen he had brought with him were sincere and honest friends to his majesty's person and interest."

Major General Massey seconded his lordship, and made use of the strongest arguments and exhortations to lay aside all animosities, and depart from their former mistakes; and by his and other examples embrace this opportunity which God had put into their hands, and to join heartily with the Earl of Derby in manifestation of their own duty and loyalty, and the vindication of themselves from all attempts or intention of usurpation that they were suspected of, and then lay upon them.

But the whole party insisted peremptorily upon their demands to have all the papists disbanded, and the Earl of Derby to take the covenant, without which they would not join the earl. Perceiving it was in vain to press them

any further upon that subject, the old leaven having taken too much effect, and soured them too far to be sweetened by any arguments or reasonings whatsoever, his lordship only added before parting, "Gentlemen, if you will be persuaded to join with me, I make no doubt but in a few days to raise as good an army to follow the king as that he has now with him, and by God's blessing to shake off the yoke of bondage resting upon both you and us; if not, I cannot hope to effect much. I may, perhaps, have men enough at my command, but all the arms are in your possession, without which I shall only lead naked men to slaughter. However, I am determined to do what I can, with the handful of gentlemen now with me, for his majesty's service; and if I perish, I perish: but if my master suffer, the blood of another prince, and all the ensuing miseries of this nation, will lie at your doors." His lordship then took horse, having with him only the worthy gentlemen that came from the Isle of Man, and some few of the royal party that were come in to him.

His lordship, on resting a while, sent out his warrants for all persons willing to serve his majesty under him forthwith to repair to him at Preston, the place appointed for their rendezvous. These warrants were secretly dispersed in all the chief towns in the county, and many came to him from all parts; but before he could possibly raise and accoutre a sufficient number, Colonel Lilbourn, then in the county, with 1800 dragoons, and the foot militia of Lancashire and Cheshire, were got to Manchester, and marching directly against Lord Derby. His lordship had at that time about six hundred horse; and, being informed the enemy were near him, trusting to the goodness of his cause, and the courage and resolution of those with him, he resolved with these to engage that great body of the enemy, therefore gave orders to march forthwith to Wigan, a most faithful and loyal town to his majesty, and there to expect the enemy.

But, unhappily and unexpectedly to him, Lilbourn having made long marches, had, before his lordship could reach the town, lined the hedges with his foot, and engaged his lordship's troops in Wigan lane. However, the earl still held on his march in very good order, and in continual expectation of an engagement, when approaching near the enemy, he caused his troops to halt so long as to give them his orders, then divided his horse into two bodies, about three hundred in each; the van he commanded himself, and gave the rear to Sir Thomas Tyldesley, and then sounded a charge.

Twice his lordship and all his party made their way clear through the whole body of the enemy; but attempting it a third time, and being oppress and environed by unequal numbers, the Lord Witherington, Sir Thomas Tyldesley, and other brave and worthy gentlemen, were slain. Sir Throgmorton, Knight Marshal, was left among the dead, but taken up by a poor woman, and relieved by that worthy knight Sir Robert Bradshaw.

His lordship had two horses killed under him, and was seconded and remounted both times by a faithful servant, a Frenchman, who there lost his life by his master's side. In the third charge, upon the fall of Lord Witherington, his lordship mounted his horse; and being seconded by six gentlemen of his party, he with them fought his way through a great body of gentlemen into the town, where his lordship, quitting his horse, leapt in at a door that stood open, and immediately shut it before the enemy could reach it; and the woman of the house kept it shut until his lordship was conveyed to a place of privacy, where he lay concealed for many hours, notwithstanding the most industrious search of the enemy.

Of the six hundred gentlemen with his lordship, he lost at least the half. The earl received seven shots upon the breastplate, and thirteen cuts upon the beaver he wore over a cap of steel, which was taken up in the lane after the

the battle; he also received five or six slight wounds in his arms and shoulders, but none very dangerous. Perhaps this age has not known an action of greater bravery, where 600 horse fought 3000 horse and foot in a disadvantageous place for two hours together, leaving 700 dead upon the spot, besides the wounded, with the loss of three hundred only.

His lordship having got his wounds privately dressed, and furnished with a disguise, that very night about two o'clock, attended only with three servants, began his journey towards Worcester, whither he came before the battle there; and though his wounds were green and sore, he attended his majesty through the whole fight, behaving therein with his usual and accustomed gallantry.

That battle being unluckily lost on the third of September, 1651, his lordship conducted his majesty with safety to a friend's house, yet famous for the Royal Oak, where his lordship had been kindly treated on his journey to Worcester; and there having happily disposed of his majesty in great security, his lordship prepared for his return, being accompanied by the Lord Lautherdale, and about forty more; who, taking their march through bye-ways to get into Cheshire and Lancashire, had the misfortune to fall in the way of a regiment of foot and a troop of horse of the enemy, commanded by Major Edge, who were marching towards Worcester. After some small dispute with that party, the earl and his companions making themselves known, had quarter given for life, and condition for honourable usage, upon giving up their arms, and submitting themselves to be their prisoners.

But this great and valiant person being now in his enemies' hands, Bradshaw, Rigby, and Birch, design him to be a victim to their inveterate malice; Bradshaw, because he had denied him the vice-chamberlain's place at Chester, preferring Mr. Bridgeman, now Lord Bridgeman, before him; Rigby, because of his ill success before Latham

house and Bolton; and Birch, because his lordship had trailed him under a hay-cart at Manchester, by which he got, even among his own party, the deserved epithet of the Earl of Derby's carter. These three, assisted by Sir Richard Houghton, a rebellious son of a very loyal father, Sir Gilbert Houghton, carver to his majesty, representing to Cromwell how unsafe it would be not only to that country, but the whole nation, to suffer that man to live, got a commission to try him by a pretended court-martial, that is, by twelve sequestrators and committee-men. During the preparation for this unjust and undeserved trial, his lordship wrote to his lady then in the Isle of Man.

Lord Derby's Letter to his Lady after he was taken, and Prisoner at Chester.

My dear Heart,

IT hath been my misfortune since I left you, not to have one line of comfort from you, which hath been most afflictive to me: and this, and what I now further write you, must be a mass of many things in one.

I will not stay long on particulars, but in short inform you that the king is dead, or narrowly escaped in disguise, whither not yet known; all the nobles of the party killed or taken, save a few, and it matters not much where they be. The common soldiers are dispersed, some in prison, some sent to other nations, and none like to serve any more on the same score. I escaped a great danger at Wigan, but met with a worse at Worcester, being not so fortunate as to meet with any that would kill me, and thereby have put me out of the reach of envy and malice. Lord Lautherdale and I having escaped, hired horses, and falling into the enemy's hands, were not thought worth killing, but had quarter given us by one Captain Edge, a Lancashire man; and one that was so civil to me, that I and all that love me are beholding to him.

I thought myself happy in being sent prisoner to Chester, where I might have the comfort of seeing my two daughters, and to find means of sending to you; but I fear my coming here may cost me dear, unless Almighty God, in whom I trust, will please to help me some other way. But, whatsoever come of me, I have peace in my own breast, and no discomfort at all but the afflictive sense I have of your grief, and that of my poor children.

Colonel Duckenfield, governor of this town, is going, according to his orders from the Parliament, general to the Isle of Man, where he will make known unto you his business.

I have considered your condition and my own, and thereupon give you this advice. Take it not as from a prisoner, for if I am never so close confined, my heart is my own, free still as the best, and I scorn to be compelled to your prejudice, though by the severest tortures. I have procured Baggerley, who was prisoner in this town, to come over to you with my letter. I have told him my reasons, and he will tell them to you; which done, may save the spilling of blood in that island, and it may be of some here, dear to you: but of that take no care; neither treat at all, for I perceive it will do you more hurt than good.

Have a care, my dear soul, of yourself, and of my dear Moll, Ned, and Billy; as for those here I will give them the best advice I can. It is not with us as heretofore. My son with his spouse, and my nephew Stanley, have come to see me. Of them all I will say nothing at this time, excepting that my son shows great affection, and is gone to London, with exceeding concern and passion for my good. He is changed much for the better, I thank God; and would have been a greater comfort to me, if I could have left him more, or if he had provided better for himself.

The discourse I have had here of the Isle of Man has produced the enclosed, or at least such desires of mine as

I hope Baggerley will deliver to you upon oath to be mine; and truly, as matters go, it will be best for you to make condition for yourself, children, and friends, in the manner as we have proposed, or as you can further agree with Colonel Duckenfield, who being so much a gentleman born, will doubtless for his own honour deal fairly with you.

You know how much that place is my darling; but since it is God's will to dispose in the manner it is, and of this nation and Ireland too, there is nothing further to be said of the Isle of Man, but to refer all to the will of God, and to procure the best conditions you can for yourself, and our poor family and friends there, and those that came over with me; and so, trusting in the assistance and goodness of God, begin the world again, though near to winter, whose cold and piercing blasts are much more tolerable than the malicious approaches of a poisoned serpent, or an inveterate or malign enemy; from whose power the Lord of heaven bless and preserve you. God Almighty comfort you and my poor children; and the Son of God, whose blood was shed for our good, preserve your lives; that by the good-will and mercy of God we may meet once more on earth, and at last in the kingdom of heaven, where we shall be for ever free from all rapine, plunder, and violence. And so I rest everlastingly,

Your most faithful,

DERBY.

By this time the judges were appointed, and the court formed for the trial of the noble Earl of Derby at Chester, Mackworth, of Shrewsbury, being president; Major Mitton, Robert Duckenfield, Henry Bradshaw, Thomas Croxton, and George Twisleton, colonels; Henry Birkenhead, Simon Finch, and Alexander Newton, lieutenant-colonels; James Stoford, Samuel Smith, John Downes, John

Delves, John Griffith, Thomas Portington, Edward Alcock, Ralph Powell, Richard Grantham, Edward Stolfax, and Vinent Corbett, captains.

The Defence of the Right Honourable James Earl of Derby, on his trial for life at Chester, before a court-martial, composed of sequestrators and committee-men above named, he being allowed neither counsel nor books in court for his assistance. Addressed by himself to the President in manner following.

SIR, I understand myself to be convened before you, as well by a commission from your general as by an act of Parliament of the 12th of August last.

To the articles exhibited against me, I have given a full and ingenuous answer. What may present itself for my advantage I have gained liberty to offer and urge by advice, and I doubt not but in a matter of law the court will be to me instead of counsel.

Sir, First I shall observe to you the nature and general order of a court-martial, and the laws and actions of it as far as concerns my case, and then shall apply my plea to such orders.

And therefore I conceive (under favour) that the laws of court-martial are, as the laws of nature and nations, equally binding all persons military, and to be observed inviolably.

And there it is, if a judgment be given in one court-martial, there is no appeal to any other court-martial. Of which court-martial the civil law gives a plentiful account.

But because it is only one point of martial law which I am to insist upon for my life, I shall name it, and debate the just right of it, as quarter for life, given by Captain Edge; which I conceive to be a good bar to a trial for life by a council of war.

That quarter was given me, if scrupled, I am ready to prove; and that it is pleadable is above dispute.

I shall only move one objection, which is, that though this is a court-martial, yet the special nature of it is directed by Parliament.

To this I answer, though the Parliament directed the trial as it is, yet it is to be considered as a court-martial, which cannot divest itself, nor is divested of its own nature, by any such direction. For to appoint a court-martial to proceed by any other laws than a court-martial can, is a repugnancy in *natura rei*.

So as such a court-martial retains its own proper laws and jurisdiction for the support of itself, so the pleas and liberties incident to it cannot be denied to the prisoner.

That quarter, and such quarter as I had given me, is a good plea for life to a council of war, I shall not endeavour so much to evince by authors, that being the proper work of the learned in civil law, but by such way as we call *jus gentium*, is proved by common practice and strong reasons.

For the first, I shall not need to bring foreign instances, being before you, whose experience hath made this thing familiar to you.

And I believe you will agree with me, that I am not only the first peer, but the first man tried by a court-martial after quarter given; unless some matter, *ex post facto*, or subsequent to such quarter, brought them within the examination of such court-martial. And, as I am informed, upon the great trial of the Earl of Cambridge, Lord Capell, Earl of Holland, &c. the plea of quarter being strongly urged, it was only avoided upon this ground, that it was no good plea against a civil jurisdiction, there being no colour of dispute tacitly admitted, and concluded that it was a good plea against a military jurisdiction.

And though the Lord Capell and Lord Goring's quarter seemed to have some advantage, as being given by the general, and by way of articles, yet the quarter given to

the Earl of Cambridge was given him by a particular captain, and that quarter (as quarter considered) as strong as the other; only both avoided by the civil jurisdiction, it being a rule in war, that quarter hath as much force being given in action, as articles in a cessation, both irreversable by any military power. And though it be a maxim in politics, that no general or soldier's concession shall prejudice the state interest, yet they shall be bars to their power.

I confess I love the law of peace more than that of war; yet, in this case, I must adhere to those of war.

And I would only know whether quarter was given me for a benefit or for a mischief: if for a benefit, I am now to have it made good; if for a mischief, it destroys the faith of all men in arms.

And I have read this for a maxim in war, that promises made by kings and state commanders ought to be observed inviolably, or else there never will be any yielding. And I shall lay this before you as a rule, that quarter given by the meanest soldier (if not forbidden) obliges as far as if the general had done it himself.

It may be objected then, that it may rest in the power of any private soldier by giving quarter to pardon treason. To this I say, I plead it not as an absolute pardon, but as a bar to a court-martial. And here I shall infer farther from conclusion of treasons.

The profession of a soldier hath danger enough in it, and he need not to add any thing to it to destroy the right of arms.

I am before you as a court-martial. It may be, some or most of you have, in some action or other since the troubles began, received quarter for your lives; then would it not be a hard measure that any court-martial should try you afterwards?

If this quarter be foiled or nulled, all the treaties, articles, terms, or conclusions, since the war began, may be examinable by any subsequent court-martial.

Nay, more than this, the sword, the law of arms, all military interest, and your own safety, is judged and jeoparded as well as mine.

But I shall not multiply, presuming you will not judge by laws of war, in which capacity only you sit; and that your religion and common justice allow that plea, which is universally, even in all parts of the world, allowable.

If you be dissatisfied, I pray, that, as an essential to justice, I may have a doctor of the civil law assigned, or at least have liberty to produce their books of opinions; and that in the interim you suspend your sentence.

Touching levying forces in the Isle of Man, and invading England, I myself (and that truly) be a stranger to all the acts for treason, and in particular to the acts of the twelfth of August.

And that the Isle of Man is not particularly named in any of the acts touching treason: and being not particularly named, those acts reach it not, nor bind those of that island.

And especially, that I was not in the Isle of Man when the last act was made; and the law looks not backward. And while I was in England I was under an unlikelihood, and even impossibility of knowing the new acts. Now in martial law *ignorantia juris* is a good plea, which I leave to judgment; having, as to matter of fact, confessed and submitted to the mercy of the Parliament.

I do as to your military power earnestly plead quarter, as a bar to your further trial of me; and doubt not but you will deeply weigh a point so considerable both to your consciences and concernments, before you proceed to sentence, and admit my appeal to his excellency Lord General Cromwell, in this single point.

Upon this the court, who were altogether acted and influenced by Bradshaw and his confederates, without considering whether his plea against the power of the court

martial, after quarter was given by a field officer, was good or no, (a defence allowed in all civil nations) overruled it, and summed up his crimes in the following articles: "That he had traitorously borne arms for Charles Stuart against the Parliament; that he was guilty of a breach of an act of Parliament of the 12th of August, 1651, prohibiting all correspondence with Charles Stuart, or any of his party; that he had fortified his house of Latham against the Parliament; and that he now held the Isle of Man against them, &c." And therefore they gave sentence of death, and appointed his execution to be at Bolton, within fourteen days, that he might not have time to appeal to Parliament.

However, his son, the Lord Strange, having beforehand laid horses ready, rode post to London in one day and night, and got his petition read in the junto by Mr. Lenthel, their speaker, which no man else would read or receive. But Cromwell and Bradshaw had so ordered the matter, that when they saw the major part of the house inclined to allow the earl's plea, as the speaker was putting the question eight or nine of them quitted the house, and those left in it being under the number of forty, no question could be put. So the Lord Strange, seeing all attempts or endeavours to save the life of his father fruitless, and of no effect, the grandees having resolved on his death, with incredible speed returned to his father before the hour of execution, and acquainted him with the cruel and bloody resolution of his professed and implacable enemies.

His father embracing him with all the tenderness of natural love and affection, said to him, "Son, I thank you for your duty, diligence, and best endeavours to save my life; but, since it cannot be obtained, I must submit." And kneeling down, said, "*Domine, non mea voluntas sed tua.*" Then calling for his friends, whom he had desired to be witnesses of his death, prepared for the scaffold;

and died with more courage and Christian patience than his enemies' malice could murder with.

An account of the Christian behaviour and humble deportment of James Earl of Derby, from his trial at Chester, to his execution at Bolton. By his Chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Humphrey Baggerley, who attended him on that occasion.

ON Monday the 13th of October, 1651, my lord procured me liberty to wait upon him, having then been close prisoner for ten days. He told me the night before, Mr. Slater, Colonel Duckenfield's chaplain, had been with him from the governor, to persuade his lordship that they were confident his life was in no danger. His lordship told me he patiently heard his discourse, but did not believe him; for, said he, I was resolved not to be deceived with the vain hopes of this fading world.

After we had walked a quarter of an hour, and discoursed his commands to me, in order to my journey to the Isle of Man, touching his consent to my lady to deliver it up, upon those articles his lordship had signed for that purpose; with his affectionate protestations of his honour and respect to my lady, both for her high birth and goodness for a wife, with much tenderness of his children there, especially my Lady Mary, and was going on;—on a sudden came in one Lieutenant Smith, a rude fellow, and with his hat on told my lord he came from Colonel Duckenfield, the governor, to tell him he must be ready for his journey to Bolton. He replied, "When would you have me to go?" "To-morrow morning by six o'clock," said Smith. "Well," said my lord, "I thank God I am readier to die than for my journey. However commend me to the governor, and tell him by that time I will be ready for both."

Then that insolent rebel Smith said, "Doth your lordship know any friend or servant that would do that thing

your lordship knows of. It would do well if you had a friend." My lord replied, "What do you mean? would you have me to find one to cut off my own head?" Smith said, "My lord, if you could get a friend." My lord answered, "Nay, sir, if those men that will have my head will not find one to cut it off, let it stand where it is. I thank my God my life hath not been so bad that I should be instrumental to deprive myself of it, though he hath been so merciful to me as to be well resolved against the worst of terrors death can put upon me. And for me and my servants, our ways have been to prosecute a just war by honourable and just means, and not those barbarous ways of blood, which to you is a trade."

Then Smith went out and called me to him, and repeated his discourse and desires to me. I only told him, that my lord had given him a final answer on that head. Then upon my coming in again, my lord calling for pen and ink, wrote his last letter to my lady, and that to my Lady Mary and his sons in the Isle of Man.

In the mean time Mr. Paul Moreau, a servant to his lordship, went and bought all the rings he could get, and my lord wrapt them up in several papers, and wrote within them, and made me superscribe them to his children, friends, and servants.

The rest of that day, being Monday, he spent with my Lord Strange, Lady Catharine, and my Lady Amelia. At night, about six, I came to him again, when the ladies were gone away; and as we were walking, and my lord telling me that he would receive the sacrament the next morning, and on Wednesday morning both, in came the aforesaid Smith, and said, "My lord, the governor desires you would be ready to go in the morning about seven o'clock." My lord replied, "Lieutenant, pray tell the governor I shall not have occasion to go so early; by nine o'clock will serve my turn, and by that time I will be ready. If he has earnester occasion he may take his own hour."

That night I stayed supper with my lord, who was exceeding cheerful and well composed; and drank to Sir Timothy Featherstone (who suffered at Chester a week after in the same cause) and said, "Sir, be of good comfort; I go willingly before you. God hath so strengthened me, that you shall hear that by his assistance I shall so submit, both as a Christian and a soldier, as to be both a comfort and an example to you."

Then he often remembered my lady, Lady Mary, and the little honourable masters, and drank to me, and once to all his servants, especially to Andrew Broome; and said, he hoped now that they who loved him would never forsake his wife and children, and he doubted not but God would be a master to them, and provide for them after his death.

In the morning his lordship delivered me the letters for the island, and said, "Baggerly, deliver these with my most tender affection to my wife and sweet children, who shall continue with my prayers for them to the last minute of my life. I have instructed you as to all things for your journey. But as to that sad part of it with respect to them I can say nothing, but must remain in silence, for your own looks will best tell your message. The great God of heaven direct you, and prosper and comfort them, in this their day of deep affliction and distress."

His lordship took leave of Sir Timothy Featherstone much in the same manner as the night before. Mr. Crossen and three other gentlemen who were condemned came out of the dungeon, (at my lord's request to the marshal) and kissed his hand, and wept at taking leave. My lord said, "Gentlemen, God bless and keep you. I hope now my blood will satisfy for all that were with me; and now you will in a short time be at liberty. But if the cruelty of these men will not end there, be of good comfort, God will strengthen you to endure to the last, as he hath done me; for you shall hear I die like a Christian, a man, a soldier, and an obedient subject to the most just and virtuous of princes."

After we were out of town about half a mile, my lord meeting his two daughters, Lady Catharine and Amelia, alighted from his horse, and with an humble behaviour and noble carriage kneeled down by the boot of the coach, and prayed for them; then rising up, took his leave, and so parted. This was the deepest scene of sorrow my eyes ever beheld; so much grief, and so much concern and tender affection on both sides, I never was witness of before.

That night, Tuesday the 14th of October, 1651, we came to Leigh, near Winwick; and in the way thither, his lordship called me to him, and bid me, when I should come at the Isle of Man, to commend him to the archdeacon there, and tell him he well remembered the several discourses that passed between them concerning death, and the manner of it; that he had often said the thoughts of death could not trouble him in fight, or with a sword in his hand; but that he feared it would somewhat startle him tamely to submit to a blow upon a scaffold. "But," said he, "tell the archdeacon from me, that I do find in myself an absolute change as to that opinion; and I bless my God for it, who hath put these comforts and courage into my soul. I can, with resignation to his Almighty will, as willingly lay down my head upon a block as ever I did upon a pillow."

My lord at supper made a competent meal, saying, he would imitate his Saviour: a supper should be his last act in this world, as it was his Saviour's own supper before he came to the cross, which he said he should do to-morrow. That night he spent upon his bed, from betwixt ten and eleven until six next morning. As he laid him down upon his right side with his hand under his face, he said, "Methinks I lie like a monument in a church; and to-morrow I shall really be so." As soon as he rose, and after prayer, he shifted himself, and said, "This shall be my winding-sheet." He then said to Mr. Paul, "See that it be not taken from me; for I will be buried in it."

Then he called on my Lord Strange, and said, "Put on

my order once this day, and I will send it to you again by Baggerley; and pray return it to my gracious sovereign, when you shall be so happy as to see him, and say I sent it with all humility and gratitude, as I received it, spotless and free from any stain, according to the honourable example of my loyal ancestors."

Then he went to prayer; and my lord commanded Mr. Greenhalgh to read the decalogue, and at the end of every commandment made his confession, and received absolution and the sacrament; after which he called for pen and ink, and wrote his last speech, and a note to Sir E. S. When we were ready to go he drank a cup of beer to my lady, Lady Mary, and little masters, and Mr. Archdeacon, and all his friends in the island; and charged me to remember him to them all. He then would have walked into the church to have seen Sir T. T's grave, but was not permitted; nor even to ride that day upon his own horse, but set him upon a little galloway, fearing, as they said, the people would rescue him.

As we were going about the middle way to Bolton, the wind came easterly, which my lord observing, called to me, and said, "Baggerley, there is a great difference betwixt you and me now, for my thoughts are fixed, and I know where I shall rest to-night, but you don't; for every little alteration of wind or weather moves you of this world from one point to another. You must leave me, and go to my wife and children in the Isle of Man, and are uncertain where you shall be another day. But, in the mean time, do not leave me, if possible, but stay and see me buried as I told you, and acquaint my dear wife and family with our parting."

Copy of the Earl of Derby's Speech upon the Scaffold, and of some remarkable passages in his Lordship's going to it, as it was taken by Mr. Greenhalgh from his Lordship's paper.

BETWEEN twelve and one o'clock on Wednesday the 15th of October, 1651, the Earl of Derby came to Bolton with two troops of horse, and one company of foot, the people every where praying and weeping as he went, even from the castle of Chester his prison, to his scaffold at Bolton, where his soul was freed from its prison the body.

His lordship being to go to a house in Bolton, near the cross, and passing by it, said, "This must be my cross;" then alighting, and going into a chamber with some of his friends and servants, had, upon request, time allowed him until three o'clock that day, the scaffold being not quite ready, because the people of the town refused to strike a nail, or to give any assistance to it; many of them saying, that since the war began they had suffered many and great losses, but none so great as this, (it was the greatest that ever befel them,) that the Earl of Derby, their lord and patriot, should lose his life there, and in that barbarous manner.

His lordship, as I told you, having till three o'clock allowed him, spent all that time with those friends that were with him in praying with them, and telling them how he had lived, how he had prepared for his death, and how the Lord had strengthened him against the terrors of it; and after such and the like words, he desired them to pray with him again; and then giving some good instructions to his son the Lord Strange, he desired to be in private, where we left him with his God, and where he continued on his knees in prayer for a good while. He then called for us again, telling us how willing he was to die; how contented he was to part with this world; and that the

fear of death was no great trouble to him since his imprisonment, though he had always two or three soldiers with naked swords night and day in his chamber. Only the care and concern he had for his wife and children, and the fear he had what might become of them after his death, was often in his thoughts, and sat heavy upon him. But now he was satisfied that God would be a husband and a father unto them; into whose hands and Almighty protection he committed them. And so taking leave of his son, he called for an officer, and told him he was ready.

At his going towards the scaffold, the people cried and prayed on every side. His lordship with a courteous humility said, "Good people, I thank you all. I beseech you pray for me to the last. The God of heaven bless you, the Son of God bless you, and God the Holy Ghost fill you with comfort." And coming near the scaffold, he laid his hands upon the ladder, saying, "I am not afraid to go up here, though to my death." Then walking a while upon the scaffold, he seated himself at the east end of it, and made his address to the people thus:

"I am come and am content to die in this town, where I endeavoured to come, the last time I was in Lancashire, as to a place where I promised myself to be welcome; in regard, the people have reason to be satisfied of my love and affection to them. And they now understand sufficiently that I am not a man of blood, as some have maliciously and falsely slandered me, being acquitted of that by many gentlemen of great worth, who were in the fight in this town; and I am confident there are still some now in this place, who can witness my mercy and care in saving the lives of many that day.

"As for my crime, as some call it, to come into this country with the king, I hope it deserves a better name; for I did it in obedience to his majesty's commands, whom I hold myself obliged to obey, according to the protestation I took in Parliament in his father's time.



Execution of James Earl of Derby at Bolton 1651.

Engd for J. Gleave's Edition

"I confess I love monarchy, and I love my master Charles II. of that name, who I myself proclaimed in this country to be king. The Lord bless him, and preserve him. I do believe and assure you he is a virtuous, valiant, and discreet prince. And I wish so much happiness to the good people of this nation after my death, that he may enjoy his right; and then am well assured that they cannot want theirs under him.

"I confess here, in the presence of God, I always fought for peace: and I had no other reason; for I wanted neither estate nor honour, nor did I seek to enlarge either at the expence of others' lives or fortunes, or the invasion of the king's rights and prerogatives. My predecessors were, for their duty, loyalty, and good services, raised to a high condition of honour and fortune, as is well known to this country; and it is as well known that I am condemned to die, by his majesty's enemies, by new and unknown laws. The Lord send us our king again; and the Lord send us our religion again. As for that which is practised now, it hath no name; and methinks there is more talk of religion than any real practice or good effect thereof. Truly to me I die for God, the king, and the laws; and this makes me not ashamed of my life, nor afraid at my death."

At which words *king* and *laws* a trooper said, "We have no king, and will have no lords;" when some sudden fear and mutiny fell among the soldiers, and his lordship was interrupted, which some of the officers were much troubled at, and his friends much grieved for. His lordship having had freedom of speech promised, and seeing their troops scattered in the streets, cutting and slashing the people with their swords, said, "Gentlemen, what is the matter? where is the guilt? I fly not, and here is none to pursue you."

Then his lordship, perceiving that he might not speak freely, turned himself to his servant, and gave him his

papers, and commanded him to let the world know what he had to say had he not been interrupted and disturbed, which is as followeth.

"My sentence upon which I am brought hither was by a council of war, which council I had reason to expect would have justified my plea of quarter for life, that being an ancient and an honourable plea amongst soldiers, and not violated that I know of till this time. I am made the first precedent in this case; I wish that no others may suffer in like cases. Now I must die; and that I am ready to die I thank my God, with a good and quiet conscience, without any malice to any, upon any grounds whatsoever, though others would not find mercy for me upon just and fair grounds: but I forgive them, following the example of my Saviour, who prayed for his enemies; and so do I pray for mine.

"As for my faith and religion, thus much I have to say at this time: I profess my faith to be in one only God, and in Jesus Christ his only Son, who died for me and all believers, and from whom I look for my salvation; that is, in and through his only merits and sufferings. And I do die a dutiful son of the church of England, as it was established in my late master's reign, and as it is yet professed in the Isle of Man, which is no small comfort of me. I thank my God for the quiet of my conscience at this time, and for the assurance of those joys which he hath promised, and are prepared for all that love, adore, and fear him. Good people, pray for me, as I do for you. The God of heaven bless you all, and send you peace and prosperity; that God, who is truth itself, bless you with peace and truth. Amen."

Presently after the uproar was over, his lordship walking the scaffold, called for the executioner to come to him, and asked to see the axe, saying, "Come, friend, give it into my hands, I'll neither hurt thee nor it; and it cannot hurt me, for I am not afraid of it." So kissing it,

gave it to him again, then asked to see the block, which was not quite ready, and turning up his eyes, said, "How long, good Lord! how long?" Then putting his hand into his pocket, gave the headsman two pieces of gold, saying, "This is all I have, take it, and do thy work well; and when I am upon the block, and lifting up my hands, then do your business. But I fear your great coat will hinder or trouble you, pray put it off." Some standing by, bid him ask his lordship's forgiveness; but being too sullen or too slow, his lordship forgave him ere he asked it; and so passing to the other side where his coffin stood, and spying one of his chaplains on horseback amongst the troopers, said, "Sir, remember me to your brother and friend. You see I am ready, but the block is not; but when I am got into my chamber, which I shall not long be out of, (pointing to his coffin) I shall then be at rest, and no longer troubled with such a guard and noise as I have been." And so turning himself again he saw the block, and asked if all was ready; then going to the place where he began his speech, he said, "Good people, I thank you for your prayers and your tears: I have heard the one, and seen the other."

Then bowing, he turned towards the block, and looking towards the church, he caused the block to be turned and laid that way, saying, "I will look towards thy sanctuary whilst I am here, and hope to live in thy heavenly sanctuary for ever hereafter." Then taking his doublet off, asked how he must lie, saying, "I never saw any one's head cut off, but I'll try how it fits." So laying him down, and stretching himself upon the block, he rose again and caused it to be a little removed, and standing up and looking at the executioner, said, "Be sure you remember what I told you; when I lift up my hands then do your work." Then looking on his friends about him, said, bowing, "The Lord be with you all; pray for me." And kneeling, he made a short and private prayer, ending with the Lord's

prayer; and bowing himself again, said, "The Lord bless my wife and children, and the Lord bless us all." Then laying his neck upon the block, and his arms stretched out, he said these words aloud,

"Blessed be God's holy name for ever and ever. Amen. Let the whole earth be filled with his glory."

And then lifting up his hands the executioner did his work, and we hope and doubt not but God hath done his, saved his soul, and taken it into everlasting felicity. After which nothing was heard in the town but sighs, sobs, and prayers.

When his body was taken up and stripped as he had directed, and laid in his coffin, there was thrown into it the following lines, by an unknown hand:

Wit, bounty, courage, all three here in one lie dead;
A Stanley's hand, Vere's heart, and Cecil's head.

The next day his corps was carried from Bolton to Ormskirk, and there deposited with his renowned ancestors, to mingle his ashes with theirs. Although we have here attended this noble lord through the course of many dangers and distractions of life, and brought him to lasting rest, yet let us not quite bury him in oblivion, but transmit to posterity the memory of his piety and virtuous life, (as it came to our knowledge after his decease) as we have done his most brave and martial achievements.

The following are his usual morning prayer in his closet by himself, and his two last letters to his lady and children in the Isle of Man, after sentence of death was passed upon him.

A Morning Prayer by Lord Derby.

O ALMIGHTY Lord God! thou that hearest prayer, assist me now in my devotion. By the help of thy blessed

Spirit, make me to have so right a sense of my sins, that I may be humbled before thee, and of thy mercy that I may be raised and comforted by thee. O Lord, make me tremble to consider thee a most mighty and terrible God; and make me again rejoice to know thee a most loving and merciful Father. Make me zealous of thy glory, and thankful for thy bounties; make me know my wants and the frailties of my nature, and be earnest in my prayer that thou wilt forgive all my misdeeds; make me in my address to thee to have a present mind, and no cares, wandering thoughts, or desires elsewhere, or separate from thee; make me so to pray, that I may obtain of thee mercy, and the relief of all my necessities; for the sake of thy blessed Son and my Redeemer, the holy Jesus. Amen.

A copy of Lord Derby's last Letter to his Lady, October 12th, 1651, from Chester.

My dear Heart,

I HAVE heretofore sent you comfortable lines, but, alas! I have now no word of comfort, saving to our last and best refuge, which is Almighty God, to whose will we must submit. And when we consider how he hath disposed of these nations and the government thereof, we have no more to do but to lay our hands upon our mouths, judging ourselves, and acknowledging our sins, joined with others, to have been the cause of these miseries; and to call on him with tears for mercy.

The governor of this place, Colonel Duckenfield, is general of the forces which are going now against the Isle of Man; and however you might do for the present, in time it would be a grievous and troublesome business to resist, especially those that at this hour command three nations; wherefore my advice, notwithstanding my great affection to that place, is, that you would make conditions for yourself and children, servants, and people there, and such as

came over with me, to the end you may go to some place of rest where you may not be concerned in war; and taking thought of your poor children, you may in some sort provide for them; then prepare yourself to come to your friends above, in that blessed place where bliss is, and no mingling of opinions.

I conjure you, my dearest heart, by all those graces which God hath given you, that you exercise your patience in this great and strange trial. If harm come to you, then I am dead indeed; and until then I shall live in you, who are truly the best part of myself. When there is no such as I in being, then look upon yourself and my poor children; then take comfort, and God will bless you.

I acknowledge the great goodness of God, to have given me such a wife as you; so great an honour to my family; so excellent a companion to me, so pious, so much of all than can be said of good, I must confess it impossible to say enough thereof. I ask God pardon with all my soul, that I have not been enough thankful for so great a benefit, and when I have done any thing at any time that might justly offend you, with joined hands I also ask you pardon.

I have no more to say to you at this time, than my prayers for the Almighty's blessing to you, my dear Mall, Ned, and Billy. Amen, sweet Jesus.

A copy of Lord Derby's last Letter to Lady Mary, Mr. Edward, and Mr. William.

My dear Mall, Ned, and Billy,

I REMEMBER well how sad you were to part with me, but now I fear your sorrow will be greatly increased to be informed that you can never see me more in this world; but I charge you all to strive against too great a sorrow: you are all of you of that temper that it would do you much harm. My desires and prayers to God are, that you

may have a happy life. Let it be as holy a life as you can, and as little sinful as you can avoid or prevent.

I can well now give you that counsel, having in myself at this time so great a sense of the vanities of my life, which fill my soul with sorrow; yet I rejoice to remember that when I have blessed God with pious devotion, it has been most delightful to my soul, and must be my eternal happiness.

Love the Archdeacon; he will give you good precepts. Obey your mother with cheerfulness, and grieve her not; for she is your example, your nursery, your counsellor, your all under God. There never was, nor ever can be a more deserving person.——I am called away, and this is the last I shall write to you. The Lord my God bless and guard you from all evil: So prays your father at this time, whose sorrow is inexorable to part with Mall, Ned, and Billy. Remember,

DERBY.

Lord Derby's first Letter from the Isle of Man to his Son the Lord Strange, with his observations relating to that Island.

THE Isle of Man was sometime governed by kings, natives of its own, who were converted to Christianity by St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland. And Sir John Stanley, the first possessor of it of that family, was by his patent styled King of Man, as were his successors after him, to the time of Thomas the second Earl of Derby, who for great and wise reasons thought fit to forbear that title.

And no subject I know hath so great a royalty as this. And lest it should at any time be thought too great, keep this rule, and you will more securely keep it: Fear God, and honour the king.

When I go to the top of mount Baroule, by turning

myself round I can see England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales; and think it pity to see so many kingdoms at once, which is a prospect no place as I conceive in any nation that we know under heaven can afford, and have so little profit from all, or any of them.

But having duly considered thereof, have, as I think, discovered the reason of it. The country is indeed better than I was informed of; for which I blamed myself that I inquired so little of it: for indeed he who seeks not to know his own, is unworthy of what he hath. And I am of opinion this isle will never flourish until some trade or manufacture be established in it. But though you invite strangers or natives to become merchants, yet never any thing will be done to the purpose, until you yourself lead the way, and by your example and encouragement set the people a pattern.

By this, or such like means, no doubt but you may grow rich yourself, and others under you improve the land, and set the people to work, so that in time you shall have no beggars, nor no loiterers; and where you have one soul now, you shall have many; every house will become a little town, and every town a little city; the sea will abound with ships, and the country with people; to the great enrichment of the whole.

Lord Derby's Letter to Commissary General Ireton, in answer to offers made by him from the Parliament of his whole Estate, if he would surrender the Isle of Man to them.

Castletown, July, 22, 1649.

SIR,

I RECEIVED your letter with indignation and scorn, and return you this answer: That I cannot but wonder whence you should gather any hopes from me, that I

should, like you, prove treacherous to my sovereign, since you cannot but be sensible of my former actings in his late majesty's service; from which principles of loyalty I am no whit departed. I scorn your proffers, disdain your favour, and abhor your treason; and am so far from delivering up this island to your advantage, that I will keep it to the utmost of my power to your destruction. Take this for your final answer, and forbear any further solicitations; for if you trouble me with any more messages on this occasion, I will burn the paper, and hang the bearer. This is the immutable resolution, and shall be the undoubted practice of him, who accounts it his chiefest glory to be

His Majesty's most Loyal and
Obedient Servant,
DERBY.

Choose for your bishop a reverend and holy man, who may carefully see the whole clergy do their duty; but not any person already beneficed in England: and oblige him you choose to residence. By the law and custom here, the bishop might lease any part of the bishopric for twenty-one years, or for lives, or further time, as it is at this time; by which you will see few bishops have enjoyed the full benefice of their see, having contented themselves with being called lords, without due regard to the revenue, or any obligation to residence. But in a few years the leases will be all expired, and then the bishopric will be worth having; and considering the cheapness of the place, I know few bishops in England that can live better than he, the whole being entire; and your prerogative herein very great, to which have a particular regard. And I herein consider this, that if the greatest part of the bishopric be leased, you will find few worthy men will accept the place; and if men be beneficed already, they will not care to live in the isle, which all the clergy ought to do.

Have great care the bishop be not of a factious spirit, and let him be of your own choosing, rather than by recommendation; so will he have the greater obligation to you, nor no dependance on any other; no, not even of York.

And if you, even as I designed, set up an university, it may oblige the nations round about us, get friends to the country, and enrich the land, which in time will bring something to the lord's purse. And as the place is cheap, yet well furnished with proper subsistence, and the temptations to idleness or luxury few, education might be had here on the easiest terms. But of this I shall tell you more when please God I can see you, and myself in peace.

His Lordship's Reasons to his Son for not assuming the Title of King in Man, and exhorts him to be strictly Loyal.

SOME might think it a mark of grandeur, that the lords of this isle have been called kings; and I might be of that opinion if I knew how this country could maintain itself, independent of other nations; and that I had no interest in another place. But herein I agree with your's and my great and wise ancestor, Thomas, the second Earl of Derby, and with him conceive, that to be a great lord is more honourable than a petty king.

Besides it is not for a king to be subject to any but the King of kings, nor doth it please a king that any of his subjects should affect that title, were it but to act it in a play; witness the scruples raised, and objections made, by my enemies in his majesty's council, of my being too near allied to the royalty to be trusted with too great power, whose jealousies and vile suggestions have proved of very ill consequence to his majesty's interest, and my service of him. There never was a wise subject that would willingly offend his king; but if offence were given from

the prince, would rather humble himself before him, as the only means to recover his favour, without which no subject can propose to live with honour and safety.

To conclude this counsel, take it for granted, that it is your honour to give honour to your sovereign; it is safe and comfortable; therefore in all your actions let it visibly appear in this isle; let him be prayed for duly; let all writings, and oaths of officers and soldiers, &c. have relation of allegiance to him.

Lord Derby's second Letter to his Son Charles, Lord Strange.

YOU know my former instructions to you were in the first to fear God, as the beginning of wisdom; and that honesty and religion were the grounds and ends of all men's actions; that all things are written for our instruction; and that no man can be accounted happy in this world that is not wise, for he that is wise sees most his own unhappiness.

And I know you are taught these great and good lessons by your excellent tutor Mr. Rutter; for whom may you and I both give thanks to God. He is not only a good teacher to you, but a good friend and companion both to you and me, having nothing at all of the pedant in him. You have profited well in your studies, which is a proof of his labour and care; and without flattery to either, above what I expected; to which the virtuous inclinations of your great and good mother, by whose tender care your infancy hath been governed, hath greatly contributed.

You have already the benefit of her language, and so need not travel as I and some others have done, to spend our time for words, while we lose so much of our life, to have studied men and manners; but your present education, under so great and excellent a tutor, gives me assurance rather than hope, that you will so well understand yourself,

and the true knowledge of your Creator and Redeemer, (without which all other things are vain and miserable,) that your youth being guided by so able a teacher, will furnish you with such divine and moral precepts, as may make your life comfortable, and your death happy. From whose learned instructions, when it shall please God to bless you with children, you may yourself give rules to their teachers. But lest you should forget any of those wise and virtuous precepts, I may prevail with Mr. Rutter to give you his method of instructing youth in writing, to keep by you. And if others, when we are dead, pretend to greater knowledge, and a new way of teaching, you may compare his great skill with our true loves, of which these and the like endeavours shall be our witness; as I may say something more of my intents concerning your breeding and travel, &c. But in the mean time, I will give you some instructions touching the manner of your house, servants, and estate, which I hope may prove of service. I have already given you some marks of a good servant; and these following are badges of a bad one.

My father, upon the death of my mother, growing infirm and disconsolate, and willing to repose himself from the trouble of the world, purchased a house on the side of the river Dee near Chester, and retired thither, reserving to himself a thousand pounds a year for life, and put the rest of his estate and revenue into my hands, which I fear I shall not be so soon able to do with you, nor with such latitude of power; however, by observation of the following rules and maxims, you may so manage, improve, and enlarge your estates, as to live with repute, honour, and comfort.

When you shall arrive at man's estate, use great caution in the choice of a wife, for as that is well or ill done, so is the whole life likely to be afterwards. It is like a project in war, wherein a man can probably err but once. If your estate be good, match near home and at leisure; but if

weak or encumbered, marry afar off and quickly. Inquire well into her disposition, and how her parents have been in their youth. Let her not be poor, how generous soever; for a man can buy nothing in a market with gentility: nor choose an uncomely creature for wealth; for it will cause contempt in others, and loathing with you. Choose not a dwarf or a fool; the children of one will be pigmies, and the other your disgrace by a continual clack; and there is nothing more fulsome than a she-fool.

As to your house-keeping, let it be moderate, rather plentiful than niggardly; for no man ever grew poor by keeping an orderly table. Banish drunkenness as a bane to health, consuming much, and making no show. Beware not to spend above the fourth of your income, nor above one-third of that in your house; for your other two parts will scarce defray your extraordinaries, which always surmount the ordinary. And remember the needy man can never live happily.

Bring your children up with learning and obedience, yet without austerity. Praise them openly, and reprehend them secretly. Give them maintenance agreeable to your ability, otherwise your life will seem their bondage, and at your death they will thank it, and not you, for what you leave them.

I am persuaded that the foolish indulgence of some parents, and the two severe carriage of others, occasion more men and women to take ill courses than their own inclinations. Marry your daughters in time, as a great work; and if your sons are by curiosity and custom inclined to travel, suffer them not to pass the Alps, for there is nothing to be learned there but pride, vice, luxury, and atheism, with a few useless words of no profit.

It is good to have provision beforehand for house-keeping, for large demesnes are commodious for that purpose; therefore do not lease any part already in your hand. And live not in the country without corn and cattle; for he that

pulleth to his purse for every penny is like him that keepeth water in a sieve.

Buy what you want at the best hand. And be not served with kinsmen and friends, for they expect much, and do but little; and keep rather too few, than one too many. Feed and pay them well, and then you may expect service from their hands.

Let your kindred and friends be welcome at your house and table; and oblige them by your countenance, which will double the bond of nature, and raise so many advocates upon occasion. Throw off and disregard all loose and flattering parasites, who are every man's friend in prosperity, but of no more use in adversity than an harbour in winter. Avoid suretiship for your best friends; but rather lend the money yourself on good bond, although you borrow it; for that will secure yourself, and pleasure your friend. Neither borrow money of a neighbour or friend, but rather of a stranger, which when paid, you will hear no more of; otherwise you will lessen your credit, lose your friend, and yet pay as dear for it.

Undertake no suit against a poor man on receiving much wrong, for then you will make him your equal; and it is but a base conquest where there is no resistance. Neither make use of law against any man before you are fully satisfied of your right, and then spare neither money nor pains; for a cause so obtained may free from suits great part of your life.

Be sure to keep some great man your friend; but trouble him not for trifles. Compliment him often with small gifts of little charge; but, if occasion require, greater. Let it be something that may be daily in sight, otherwise it may be like a hop without pole.

Towards your superiors be humble, yet generous; with your equals familiar, yet respectful to your inferiors. Show much humanity, and some familiarity, as to bow the body, stretch forth your hand, or uncover your head, with such

like popular compliments, which will prepare your way to advancement, bespeak you a man well bred, and gain a good report; which once got is easily kept. For civility and humanity take deep root in the minds of the populace, who are easier gained by small courtesies than by churlish benefits; yet affect not, nor neglect popularity too much.

Trust not any man with any secrets of your mind, that may nearly concern your life, honour, credit, or estate; for it is the greatest folly so far to discover and enslave yourself to your friend, as, if occasion should offer, you should not dare to become his enemy.

Be not scurrilous in conversation, nor satirical in your jests; for when any of them savour too much of truth, they leave a bitterness in the minds of those that are touched by them. Some are so prone to this kind of behaviour, that they choose rather to lose their friend than their jest; but I advise you to avoid all such satirical jests as may be disagreeable to the company, engage you in disputes, and draw on you the hatred of friends, if not quarrels also.

It is very commendable to have comely men to serve you; but have none that is either a Puritan or Jesuit. Next to them a musician is very troublesome. And many boys to wait on your servants are sluttish, given to pilfer and steal, and disgrace your house: I would have all those under the yeomen in livery, whether yours, or any of your chief retinue.

Have a good steward of your house, and clerk of the kitchen, who make themselves awed by the servants, even as much as yourself. And while they serve you well, you must give them countenance; so will your house be orderly.

I would, as much as I could, keep my own cash myself; so shall I better husband what I have, as knowing on what occasions I part with it. And as it is a custom sometime to reward good servants, consider well before you give, what it is, and to whom, and for what; for certainly when you give to a good man, because he is good, it is likely to

keep him so, and make others good from his example. I would not have many in my house too near akin, for you will be apt to encourage one too much, for another's sake; nor would I have many married in my house, for so you may come to have the children also.

When a servant minds himself more than your business, then you may be sure he is growing rich, gaining reputation at your cost, and then you may observe men making their addresses to him, rather than you: his followers attend him bareheaded, which puffs him up to slight your service. And if you respect him, may be he will honour you; otherwise he can live of his own, and may have the vanity to give out, it was his father's legacy, though he come to you a beggar.

If a servant be prodigal, neglecting his own affairs, assuredly he will neglect yours; and this you may see if he be needy, a gamester, a company keeper, or otherwise vicious, and the like. Dismiss such a one from your house and service.

Another sort delight to keep you in suits and troubles, that he may never want employment, exclaiming against all others as unfit for your service. But in this case the rule of Machiavell is to be remembered, *Fortier calumniari aliquid addet*. More dangerous than this is a flattering servant, who endeareth himself to you by applauding and approving all you like, say, or do, which may prevail with you to think you have one after your own heart, but will in time gnaw you to the very bone. But observe this rule, and there is less danger of being deceived: When any praiseth you, be jealous you deserve it not; or if you do, think he does not always love you best that praiseth you most. And remember the Italian proverb, that after eating salt with one seven years, you may then judge of his sincerity, and how far you may trust him. Those you trust with your money, or any receipts or disbursements of it, bring often to account, which will keep them just, and make you easy.

Most of these misfortunes I have met with in servants, which have given me great vexation; therefore pray then by my experience avoid them as much as possible. I thought to have enlarged myself on many passages and observations, wherein I have been exercised enough to have given you examples, both of pride and corruption in those employed about you, but am loath to dwell too long on one subject, not knowing how little time I may dwell here myself; so shall omit them for the present, and only give you a few general aphorisms and maxims in life, for your instruction and observation in the course of it, which I exhort you always to remember and practise as a sure monitor and guide of all your actions, conduct, and behaviour to God, your prince, and your neighbour.

Instructions by James, Earl of Derby, to his Son the Lord Strange, by way of Aphorism; for his observation in life.

I. OF all things seek ye to know the Word of God, and the kingdom of God.

II. Know that about God there is neither greatness, place, quality, figure, or time, for he is all, through all, and about all.

III. This Word, O son! worship and adore: and the only service of God is not to be evil.

IV. Remember that virtue, honesty, and religion, are the grounds and ends of all good men's actions.

V. Build more upon an honest man's word than a bad man's bond.

VI. Trust not any man that has not approved himself a man of sound principles, and a good conscience; for he who is false to God can never be true to man.

VII. Remember that he is a happy king who loves his people, and is beloved by them.

VIII. That the strength of a king is in the love of his people.

IX. That princes ought to be better than other men, because they command and rule all.

X. That a good prince ought first to preserve the service of God and his church, and next the common wealth, before his own pleasure.

XI. That he can never be a good statesman that regardeth not the public more than his own advantage.

XII. That honour is the reward of virtue, but gotten with labour, and held with danger.

XIII. That counsel without resolution and execution is but wind.

XIV. That division in council is most dangerous.

XV. That attempts are most probable when wisely formed, and secretly and speedily executed.

XVI. That union is the strength, and division the ruin of any body politic.

XVII. That the taking or losing an opportunity was the gaining or losing a project or fortune.

XVIII. That war is soon kindled, but peace very hardly procured.

XIX. That war is the curse, and peace the blessing of God upon a nation.

XX. That a nation gaineth more by one year's peace than ten years' war.

XXI. That a nation can never be rich that hath not trade and commerce with other nations.

XXII. That no man can get riches of himself, but by means and assistance of others.

XXIII. That riches are God's blessing tos uch that use them well, and his curse to such that do not.

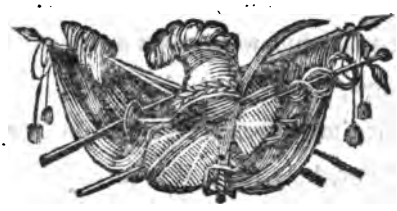
XXIV. That all things in the world are valuable as we esteem them; for a little to him that thinketh it enough is great riches.

XXV. That wild, lewd, and unthrifty youth, is fre-

quently the parents' fault in making them men seven years too soon.

XXVI. That youth are guilty of much folly and extravagance, having but children's judgments; therefore should be instructed and governed with the greatest prudence and tenderness.

XXVII. That the better to prevent the follies of youth, the ancient Romans had a law, by which their sons were not permitted to possess their father's estate until they arrived at the age of twenty-five years.



TO THE

GLORIOUS MEMORY

OF THAT

BLESSED MARTYR,

JAMES, EARL OF DERBY.

HAIL honour'd vault, thou sacred dust,
Clean as the Stanley's name that must
Eternize you, and give to death,
Rank tho' it be, a sweeter breath
Than spices suck'd from eastern air,
Or any place but where you are;
For balms, that other bodies keep,
Are kept themselves where you do sleep.
Marvel not, holy urns, if now
By kind or cruel fate, or how
I know not, your brave son appears
All smear'd with blood, and bath'd with tears,
To take his lodging up, and lie
In your untainted company:
For tho' his noble blood was spilt
By colour of black treason's guilt,
Yet know we call not bad or good,
As in your days was understood.

The silly virtues of your times
Our wiser age hath made our crimes.
We believ'd histories, and there
We read how true the Stanleys were;
But since, this man was made, we know,
A rebel for not being so;
And by new style of language found,
For having ne'er been false, unsound.
Pardon us if we swear that you,
Blest souls, have all been traitors too.
But stay, your peaceful shrines must hear
No more of this. And you that wear
The white to show your innocence,
So taken in the good old sense,
Do not disdain if he that bled
Come here to dye you all in red.
How well it must you saints become,
To be dipp'd with him in martyrdom!
You lov'd your princes; and the end
For which you lived, was to defend
The pow'r that made you great, to be
Worthy of this posterity.
But if your waking spirits flew
That day aloft, when with a few
Great Derby, mounted on his cause,
Fought for his country, king, and laws;
Resolv'd our little light, grown dim,
Should ne'er be quite extinguish'd without him;
You'll say that you did but begin

What he made perfect and have been.
'Tis all that reason can afford,
Your majesty's bucklers, he the sword.
Oh! where's the Fortune that was wont
To wait on you, and give account
Of all your actions, bidding Fame
To write them fair upon your name?
What! must his valour be denied
Success, to satisfy the pride
Of angry Fates, who set it down
For law, no bays without a crown;
Making his loss a public harm,
Three kingdoms leaning on his arm?

Poor destinies to govern wars,
Yet suffer him to top your stars;
And change to triumph what you meant,
By fond mistake, his punishment.
So did he ride, his chariot drawn
By tigers tam'd, and taught to fawn
Upon the greatness of his soul,
Brute passions all at his control;
Rage turn'd to pity, scorns to fears,
Hard and cold hearts dissolv'd to tears,
His guard march'd like poor conquer'd things,
Who just before could spit at kings:
He put them on new garbs, and none
Of that day's manners were their own.

A triumph, such as one may see
After some Indian victory,
Where savage beasts first learn to kneel,
And slaves walk chain'd to chariot wheel:
A glorious day, no griefs might dare
To darken what his looks made fair.

But as the valiant Israelite
In vision saw, before the fight,
His fleece by wonder dry, and round
About the place a water'd ground;
So stood unmov'd this gallant peer,
Whilst sorrow made all deluge there.
And yet as when, with hottest rays,
A clear sun its full strength displays
On some thick cloud, that dares resist,
There shows a kind of bloody mist;
So did his clearness then arise,
And dart upon the people's eyes,
That none did ever see, they say,
A bloodier and a fairer day,
Fix'd in the sweetness of a mind
Free from all guilt and fear we find:
His boldness now bowing to none,
But to his God, and him alone.

And as triumphing consuls thought
Their glories greater when they brought
Their crowns to th' temple, as was meet,

There laid them down at great Pan's feet;
So after all this triumph he,
A servant still to majesty,
Before his God fell on his face;
At which the genius of this place,
This reverend vault, fetch'd him away,
T' enthrone him where the Stanleys lay;
Whose ashes whisper their desire,
From his warm blood to take new fire,
And light a blinded world to see
This blessing of their loyalty.

S. R.

This great and noble lord, whose various transactions in life, and tragical death, we have been describing, was the seventh Earl of Derby of his family. He married to his lady the most noble Charlotte, daughter to Claud de la Tremouille, Duke de Tremouille and Trovers, by Charlotte his wife, daughter to the renowned Count William, of Nassau, Prince of Orange, by his wife Charlotte de Bourbon, of the royal house of France; by which marriage he stood allied to the Kings of France, and to the houses of Bourbon, Mompessier, Bourbon, Conde, Dukes of Anjou, Kings of Naples and Sicily, Archduke of Austria, Kings of Spain, Earls and Dukes of Savoy, Dukes of Milan, and to most of the sovereign princes in Europe.

By this noble lady he had issue three sons; Charles, who succeeded him, and Edward and William, who both died young and unmarried; also three daughters: the eldest, the Lady Henrietta Maria, married to William, the great Earl of Strafford, and died without issue; the Lady Catharine, second daughter, married to Henry, Marquis

of Dorchester, and also died without issue; and the Lady Amelia, the youngest, married to John, Earl of Athol, and was grandmother to his grace James, the present Duke of Athol.

The taking away the blood of the noble peer aforesaid, might have been esteemed by the world a sacrifice sufficient to have atoned for any supposed offences given by his lady and innocent children, who were in the Isle of Man at the time of his being taken out of the word, where it might have been concluded they were in a place of quiet and security. But even this place of retirement was no safeguard to them, for the wicked and restless malice of their persecutors, Bradshaw, Rigby, and Birch, found them out there, and struck at his surviving and afflicted lady and children, endeavouring and using all their power to eradicate them, and the whole noble family, from the face of the earth.

And to this purpose they corrupted one Captain Christian, whom his lordship had brought up from a child, and on his coming over to attend his majesty King Charles II. entrusted him with the command of all the foot soldiers in the island, as a guard and security of the place, and his distressed lady and children, whom he was charged to take especial care of.

But Christian proving a most perfidious and treacherous villain, had corrupted the soldiers of both the castles, as well as those under his command, promising to deliver up the island to the Parliament ships and forces, when they appeared against it.

Upon which Colonel Duckenfield and Birch, having commission from the junto at London, with ten ships appeared before it, and summoned the heroic Lady Derby to deliver up the island to them for the use of the Parliament. Her ladyship having Sir Thomas Armstrong with her in Castle Rushen, whom her lord had made governor there, and his brother governor of Peel castle, and being like-

wise confident of the integrity of Christian and the Islanders under him, refused to surrender, without license obtained from the king.

But Christian having prepared his countrymen for the execution of his treachery, that very night suffered the forces to land without resistance, seized upon the lady and her children, with the governors of both the castles, and the next morning brought them prisoners to Duckenfield and Birch, who told her ladyship that Christian had surrendered the island upon articles, which her ladyship desired to be favoured with a sight of. On perusal whereof she observed, that the Isle of Man was only yielded up, and that the islands about it were not included; upon which she requested of Colonel Duckenfield and Birch, but especially of Christian, who had formed and acquiesced to those articles, that she and her children might have leave to retire to Peel castle, situate in an island separated from the main island by the sea; from whence she proposed she might, in some little time, get over to her friends in France or Holland, or some other place of rest and refuge.

But she was utterly denied that favour by her hard-hearted and inhuman enemies. Neither regard to her sex, compassion to her children, honour to her quality, nor even common civility, found any place for her relief. And thus this great and excellent lady, whose religion, virtue, and prudence, were not inferior to any woman upon record, became a captive and prisoner to her most barbarous, malignant, and unmerciful enemies; and she that brought fifty thousand pounds portion to this nation, had not a morsel of bread, for herself and desolate children, but what was the charity of her impoverished and ruined friends.

After which, she and her children continued prisoners in the island, until his majesty's happy restoration, enduring all these sufferings with a generous resolution and Christian

patience; and then expecting justice against her lord's murderers, her son restored to the sequestered estates of his father, and some compensation for the immense losses and devastation of her family; but failing of all, her great heart, overwhelmed with grief and endless sorrow, burst in pieces, and she died at Knowsley house, with that Christian temper and exemplary piety in which she had always lived.

The late very eminent, but unhappy Lord Earl James, was succeeded in honour by his eldest son Charles Lord Strange, as the eighth Earl of Derby of his name; who, upon his accession to the estate of his family, found it in the utmost confusion and disorder; the ancient house of Latham demolished, and all the estate thereto belonging under sequestration; the house of Knowsley in little better condition, ruinous, out of repair, and great devastations committed in the house, gardens, and park; and, which was yet more deplorable, near one half of the estate possessed by his father sequestered and sold, and little, or a very small part thereof, ever recovered; of which the legislative justice of both houses of Parliament had so sensible a knowledge, and so deep and compassionate a concern for the sufferings of the late brave Earl of Derby, his lady, and noble family, that they unanimously passed a bill by both houses to restore Earl Charles to all his father's sequestered estate, he repaying to the possessors thereof the inconsiderable value given by them for their several purchases, and they accounting with him for the profits received, during their possession of any branch or part of it.

But so it was, that neither the services of his father and mother, nor the immense sums expended by them for his then majesty Charles II. and for his father's interest, and the support of his crown and dignity, nor the loss of his own father's life, nor the saving and securing that of the reigning prince King Charles II. nor any other interest or

consideration, could prevail upon that ungrateful king to give his royal assent to that act; so that all those estates were lost and separated from the family for ever, which so reduced the said Earl Charles, that he had scarce sufficient left to support the honour and dignity of his character. Insomuch that his eldest son and successor, Earl William, whom I had the honour to serve several years as household steward, hath often told me, that he possessed no estate in Lancashire, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Yorkshire, Cheshire, Warwickshire, and Wales, but whenever he viewed any of them he could see another near or adjoining to that he was in possession of, equal, or greater of value, lost by his grandfather for his loyalty and service to the crown and his country.

Charles, the present earl before us, lived in a time of peace and tranquillity; so that I have nothing to remark of his achievements in military life. He was a person of great affability, courteous to all, a good master, a kind landlord, and a loving friend and neighbour. He married to his lady, Dorothy Helena Rupa, a German lady of an honourable family, but small fortune, which she being sensible of, used all her endeavours to repair that defect by her economy, prudent and frugal management of her family, and all affairs under her care and inspection. By this lady his lordship had issue four sons and two daughters, (to wit,) William, Robert, James, and Charles. William, after his father's death, succeeded him; Robert and Charles died unmarried; and James, his third son, succeeded his brother William in the earldom. Charlotte, his first daughter, married to Thomas Lord Colchester, eldest son and heir of Thomas Earl Rivers, and by him had issue only one daughter, who died young and unmarried; and Mary, his second daughter, died unmarried. He himself died the twenty-first of December, 1672, and was honourably deposited with his noble ancestors at Ormskirk, near Latham.

Having a little before taken notice of the great disorder the late earl found his estate in, on his coming to the possession thereof, give me leave before I proceed further, for the satisfaction of the reader therein, and for his information of the history and proceedings of those distracted times, to lay before him a few examples of the oppressions laid upon and suffered by this noble family, in manifestation of my assertion of their sufferings.

ORMSKIRK PARISH.

Orders concerning LATHAM.

"WHEREAS there is a great quantity of meadow grounds, belonging to the Earl of Derby, in Latham; and now the time of the year importuneth a speedy course to be taken: This is therefore to require you forthwith to take notice of it, and to set so much as you can, and the rest to get mowed, and to set it in places most convenient, either in barns or ricks; and if you cannot set meadowing, whereby to pay the mowers, or other charges accustomed to be disbursed formerly, you may repair to me, and I shall appoint a way, or give you money to pay all such disbursements: and in so doing this shall be your warrant. Given under my hand at Ormskirk, August 3, 1645.

"John Ashurst.

"To Evan Swift,
of Skelmersdale, this.

"What you can set I could desire you would; but for the rest, I would have the one half given for getting the other.

"John Ashurst."

ORMSKIRK PARISH.

By Indenture trepartite, dated August 11, in the thirteenth year of King Charles I. between William, Earl of Derby,

and Sir James Stanley, Lord Strange, of the first part; Elizabeth, Lady Stanley widow, late wife of Sir Robert Stanley, Charles Stanley, and James Stanley, Esqrs. sons of the said Sir Robert Stanley, of the second part; and Sir Henry Croft, and Sir Theobald Gorges, knights, of the third part.

"RECITING therein an award made by his majesty for the ending of suits and differences between the said earl, the said Elizabeth Stanley, Charles Stanley, and James Stanley, the said earl, and James Lord Strange, in performance and obedience of the award for provision of maintenance for the said lady, Charles, and James Stanley, and the heirs male of their bodies; and in consideration of love and affection, covenant by one or more fines before the end of two years next following, to convey and assure to Sir Henry Croft, and Sir Theobald Gorges, and their heirs, the several manors of Latham, Burscough, Childwall, and Dalton, with the appurtenances and other messuages, lands, and tenements, situate in the precincts of Latham, Burscough, Childwall, and Dalton; and also the capital messuage or mansion-house called Upton, with its appurtenances, in the counties of Chester and Lancaster, to several uses.

"Upon the Earl of Derby's delinquency there is now due and in arrears, (as the Lady Stanley affirms) £698, and that her two sons are not yet at age; therefore it is desired by the said Lady Stanley, that the arrears due and the growing rents may be paid her, or that she may have her deed and estate allowed her, notwithstanding the sequestration. And this appears to be the case. December, 1645.

"J. Bradshaw.

"Ver. Cop. Wi Garland."

"At the Committee of Lords and Commons for Sequestrations.

"Die Mer. Dec. 24, 1645.

"IN the case of the Lady Stanley, upon the report of Mr. Bradshaw, to whom it was referred, a copy whereof is hereunto annexed, and on full debate of the matter, it is ordered that the said report be confirmed, and that it be referred to the several committees of the counties of Cheshire and Lancashire, where the lands charged with the yearly rent demanded by the said lady lie, to allow her said yearly growing rent, and the arrearages thereof, being deposed by the said lady to be £698, according to the rateable proportion of the lands in each county; or else to permit her to take the benefit of her order for non-payment thereof.

"J. Wylde.

"Ver. Cop. exam. per me R. Vaughan."

ORMSKIRK PARISH.

"At the Committee of Lords and Commons for Sequestration.

"Die Mer. April 15, 1646.

"UPON the petition of the Lady Elizabeth Stanley, and the certificate of the committee of Cheshire, a copy whereof is hereunto annexed and attested, it is thought fit and ordered, that the committee of Lancashire, by whom the sequestration was made, do either allow and pay unto the petitioner her rent and arrearages due to her, or else to permit and suffer her to enter and distrain upon the lands, according to her deed by due course of law.

"H. Pellam.

"Ent. R. Vaughan."

PRESTON, in Com. LAN.

"At the Committee, August 28, 1647.

"IT is ordered, that Mr. Peter Ambrose shall, at the next sitting of the committee for sequestrations, certify the true yearly value of that part of the Earl of Derby's estate as stands charged with an annuity or rent-charge of £600 per annum, payable to the late Lady Stanley, now Countess of Lincoln, and her children; and that she may be at liberty to provide a farmer for the said estate, for the year next coming; he the said Mr. Peter Ambrose having had notice thereof.

"Alex. Rigby,
"R. Cunliffe,
"J. Starkie.

"Int. E. Wall."

"At the Committee, Feb. 23, 1645.

"WHEREAS it is informed, that the house of Knowsley is in decay and want of reparation, a part of the leads there being taken off for the public use at the first leaguer against Latham, it is ordered, that Mr. Peter Ambrose shall view the defects; and what quantity of lead shall be thought to be wanting for the repair thereof, shall be supplied with the lead taken off Latham, upon certificate under his hand to the committee. And it is further ordered, that the house of Knowsley, and the orchard and gardens there, shall be improved to the best benefit of the commonwealth, by the agents for sequestration of that estate, to the end the same may be the better repaired out of the profits thereof.

"R. Shuttleworth."

At a Committee, June 4, 1646.

"IT is ordered that Mr. Peter Ambrose, and other agents for sequestrations of Derby hundred, shall permit

and suffer William Kyndsley and Richard Bradshaw quietly to bear and carry away all such goods, pipes of lead, and other materials formerly belonging to the house of Latham, and as yet remaining there, and contracted and agreed for by the said Mr. Kyndsley and Mr. Bradshaw, with John Heywood and others, authorized for the sale of such goods.

"William Knipe,
"Nicholas Cunliffe,
"Robert Cunliffe.
"John Bradshaw,
"John Starkie,
"Richard Asheton."

ORMSKIRK PARISH.

"To Mr. Ambrose, an Agent for Sequestrations in Derby Hundred.

"Mr. Ambrose,

"WE desire you to view Latham house, and to certify us at your next coming hither, whether Capt. Peter Holt hath observed his orders in the demolishing of the said house of Latham, and whether he hath done any thing but according to his order, which is all at present from

"Your loving friends,

"E. Butterworth,
"Edward Rigby,
"James Asheton,
"J. Bradshaw, Vic.
"Richard Houghton,
"Peter Egerton."

"Preston, April 29."

PRESTON.

"At the Committee, April 23.

"IT is ordered that Captain Peter Holt shall deliver up the house of Latham, together with all the goods and materials now remaining and belonging to the same, unto Mr. Peter Ambrose, on Monday next, who is hereby required to receive the same accordingly, and to take especial notice in what condition the same shall be at the delivery thereof, and likewise to inventory the goods which shall be there left, and to certify the committee thereof; that such course may be taken for disposal of the house and goods as the committee shall think fit for the best benefit of the commonwealth.

"John Starkie,
"Edward Rigby,
"E. Butterworth,
"J. Fleetwood,
"Richard Houghton,
"G. Ireland,
"Peter Egerton,
"James Asheton."

"Intra. N. Aspinwall.

"At the Committee, May 13, 1646.

"FORASMUCH as Mr. Richard Bradshaw, of Bolton, hath taken up certain pipes of lead belonging to Latham house, pretended to be bought by him of one John Heywood; it is ordered that Mr. Peter Ambrose shall take a view of the said pipes of lead so taken up as aforesaid, and shall appraise the same, and certify the true value thereof to the committee of the first of June next, that then such further order may be made therein as shall be thought fit.

"Nicholas Cunliffe,
"Robert Cunliffe,
"William Knipe,
"John Starkie,
"Richard Asheton,
"Richard Haworth.

"Intra. E. Wall."

ORMSKIRK PARISH.

"At the Committee, May 13, 1646.

"WHEREAS by an order of the twenty-third of April last, it was ordered, that Mr. Ambrose should receive the house of Latham, together with the goods and materials, and to inventory the same goods, which is done accordingly: It is ordered that the said Mr. Peter Ambrose shall dispose of the same for the commonwealth. And whereas divers goods and materials mentioned in a schedule hereunto affixed, amounting to the sum of £51 7s. 2d. formerly sold to William Kyndsley, Richard Bradshaw, Henry Molyneux, and Joseph Moxon, are as yet remaining there; it is ordered that they shall forthwith pay unto Mr. Peter Ambrose the said sum of £51 7s. 2d. according to their several agreements formerly made, to be disposed of for the public use, and the said goods thereupon delivered, and not otherwise.

"J. Fleetwood.
"Robert Cunliffe,
"Richard Haworth,
"Nicholas Cunliffe,
"Edward Rigby,
"William Knipe,
"John Starkie,
"Richard Asheton.

"Intra, N. Aspinwall."

An Account of what Floors and Wainscot were sold by the Officers put in by Colonel Booth, at Latham House.

In the Eagle Tower, three floors, in measure 74½ yards each, the two highest at 12d. per yard.	£7	9	0
The third floor 74 yards, at 1s. 2d. per yard. .	4	7	0
The Tower of Madness 25 yards, at 12d. per yd.	1	5	0

The Tower at the Kitchen bridge, one floor, 34 yards, at 12d. per yard.	£1	14	0
The other floor 32 yards, at 4d. per yard. . .	0	10	8
The little Tower next it, two floors, 15 yards. .	0	16	0
The next Tower to that in the corner, two floors, 36 yards.	1	16	0
The Chapel Tower, one floor, 16 yards. . .	1	16	0
In the private Tower, one floor, 6½ yards. . .	0	6	6
The floor in the lowest room, Eagle Tower, 70 yards.	4	1	8
Wainscot of the same room, 159 yards, at 18d. per yard.	16	0	0
The Wainscot in the room adjoining, 83 yards, at 18d. per yard.	6	19	0
The floor in the same room, 27 yards, at 14d. per yard.	1	16	0
The floor in the middle ward, 111 yards, at 12d. per yard.	5	11	0
Total	£54	7	10

PRESTON.

"At the Committee, June 11, 1646.

"To Mr. Peter Ambrose.

"IT is ordered that those boards that have been lately employed in the house at Latham, and now taken down and laid together by Capt. Holt, shall be forthwith carried to Liverpool, for the use of the said garrison there, according as Lieutenant-Colonel John Ashurst, now governor of the said garrison, shall think fit.

"J. Bradshaw, V.
"G. Ireland,
"Peter Egerton,
"Rich. Asheton,
"J. Fleetwood,
"Robert Cunliffe."

ORMSKIRK.

"At the Committee, April 30, 1647.

"IT is ordered that Mr. Peter Ambrose shall, upon sight hereof, deliver Edward Chambers, commissary at Liverpool, one pair of gates, with the stoops belonging thereunto, now at Latham house, for to be employed for the the use of the said garrison, as the governor thereof shall think fit.

"Peter Egerton.
"H. Fleetwood,
"Ralph Asheton.
"W. Ashurst."

The several articles before-mentioned have been abstracted from the book of sequestrations for the county of Lancaster, and are intended as specimens of the proceedings of those seditious and rebellious times, wherein liberty and property were words without meaning; the beggar upon a level with a lord, and they of the household dividing the spoil; the two noble seats of Latham and Knowsley (spacious enough for princely palaces) demolished and destroyed, and the estates thereto belonging all under sequestration, and the heavy load of £600 per annum charged upon the first, and several other manors before-mentioned; all which put together, with many other devastations and destructions by the usurpers, reduced the noble lord entitled thereto to a narrow and scanty way of living, until the Lady Stanley aforesaid had married to the Earl of Lincoln, and her younger son James's death.

The Earl of Derby obtained an act of Parliament to enable him to sell several manors, lands, and chief-rents, as Childwall, Little Woolton, part of Dalton, and all Holland, with the chief-rents of many other manors and townships, whereby he raised a sum sufficient to purchase the Countess of Lincoln's annuity for life, and her second

son James's annuity, from his surviving brother Charles, who was then entitled to the whole; and with the payment of all arrears, and securing to the said Charles the future payment of the whole £600 per annum upon the manor of Latham, only he was admitted into the possession of all the aforesaid manors and townships, pledged for the payment of the said £600 per annum.

All which, with some improvements made by him, descended on his decease to his eldest son William Lord Strange, who then commenced the ninth Earl of Derby of this family, who was a nobleman of polite education, great reading, and strong capacity; and a kind landlord to his tenants. He was much averse to any offices of trust or employments under the government, from the consideration of his family sufferings, by their constant attachment to it, which induced him to prefer a country retirement, as he frequently declared upon many occasions, before any honour or preferments at court.

He married to his Lady Elizabeth, daughter to Thomas, Earl of Ossory, grand-daughter to James, the old Duke of Ormond, and sister to the late proscribed duke. By her he had issue one son and two daughters, to wit, James Lord Strange, who died at Venice on his travels, in the twentieth year of his age, and unmarried; but his body was brought to England, and deposited with his noble and most worthy predecessors. His eldest daughter, the Lady Henrietta, married first to John, Earl of Anglesey, and by him had issue one daughter, who died very young, and he himself not long after; and to her second husband she married John Lord Ashburnham, and by him had issue only one daughter, named Henrietta Bridget, who died about the fourteenth year of her age. Elizabeth, his second daughter, died in the eighteenth year of her age, unmarried.

This lord intending to re-edify and adorn the old and famous seat of Latham, erected a sumptuous and lofty new front, and covered it in, but did not live to finish it, dying

at Chester, when mayor thereof, in 1702, and also chamberlain of that city, as his father and ancestors had been before him. He was nobly interred at Ormskirk, in the repository of his family, and was succeeded by James, his brother, then Brigadier Stanley, who had been bred up in martial discipline from a youth, by the heroic Prince of Orange, after King William the Third of England, with whom he was in high favour and esteem, one of his bedchamber, and almost constant attendant in waiting. Upon the death of his brother in 1702, he became Baron Strange, and the tenth Earl of Derby of his name; soon after which he quitted the army, and was honoured with the high office of chancellor of the dutchy and county palatine of Lancaster, and lord-lieutenant and vice-admiral of the same and the coasts thereof, with the high office of chamberlain of the city and county palatine of Chester, and one of the privy council to King William, Queen Anne, and King George I. and captain of the yeomen of the guard to the last, and Lord of Man and the isles. He commanded a regiment of foot through all King William's wars in Flanders and Ireland, there being no battle or siege but he had a large share therein, his body being almost covered with wounds, and twice carried off the field as a dying man; but by the goodness of God he surmounted all those evils, and all the hazards and dangers of a military life. No person behaved with greater courage and resolution than Colonel Stanley, to the time of his commencing Earl of Derby; and then he generously bestowed his regiment upon an old friend and brother officer, and returned home to possess the noble estate of his family, at which time he was honoured with the several offices of power and trust before mentioned.

On the accession of King George II. being grown aged and infirm, and unable to bear the fatigues of public employments, he retired to his seat of Knowsley, the place of his birth, in the year 1707 or 1708; and in regard the

building was old, and much defaced under the usurpation, he resolved to do the honour to his ancestors of rebuilding their old seat after the modern way, which he performed in a most sumptuous and beautiful manner. And in memory of the unkind and ungenerous treatment of his father and grandfather, by King Charles II. he caused the following inscription to be cut in stone on the front of it: "James, Earl of Derby, Lord of Man and the Isles, grandson of James, Earl of Derby, by Charlotte, daughter of Claud, Duke of Tremouille, who was beheaded at Bolton, Oct. 15th, 1651, for strenuously adhering to King Charles II. who refused a bill unanimously passed by both houses of Parliament, for restoring to the family the estate which he had lost by his loyalty to him."

This lord married Mary, the only daughter and heiress of Sir William Morley, of Halnacar, in the county of Sussex, by whom he enjoyed a plentiful estate, and had issue by her one only son named James, who lived but about three months, and thereby left him childless at his decease, which happened at Knowsley, Feb. 1st, 1735. His body was conveyed to Ormskirk, and laid with his most eminent and noble ancestors in the common repository of his family, his lady being then alive. He was born July 3d, 1664.

And here let it be observed, that by the death of this noble lord without any issue, the honour of the earldom of Derby became extinct in the direct line, he being the tenth in succession from Thomas Lord Stanley, created Earl of Derby by King Henry VII. in the first year of his reign, for his signal and faithful services to him and his country in the year 1485, and on many other remarkable occasions.

The late noble lord we have been here treating of, was by patent made chamberlain of Chester for life, that high office having expired in his family by the death of his elder brother Earl William. It is now in the family of Cholmondley. When this lord was in full life, and at the highest

pinnacle of honour, he appears to me to have possessed more titles of dignity than any of his brave and renowned predecessors; and as the knowledge of these may be as agreeable to the readers, as the pleasure of collecting them hath been to me, I have thought it not amiss to relate them in their order: to wit—

James Earl of Derby, Lord Stanley and Strange, Baron of Weeton, Viscount Kinton, Lord Mohun, Barnwell, Basset and Lacy, Lord Chancellor and Lord Lieutenant of the Dutchy and County Palatine of Lancaster, and Vice Admiral of the same; Lord Chamberlain of the City and County Palatine of Chester; Captain of the Yeomen of the Guards; one of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council; and Lord of Man and the Isles.

And here, though I have given the reader the lineal succession of the Earls of Derby for ten generations, with their marriages and issue, and the marriages and issue of their sons and daughters; yet permit me, before I proceed further in the history, to insert a few articles come to my knowledge during my writing what hath already passed, which will tend to make the whole something more intelligible and uniform, although a little out of due place, which I flatter myself will be forgiven me, as it is intended for the reader's information.

And first, the most noble Margaret, Countess of Richmond, and widow to Edmund, Earl of Richmond, and afterwards wife to Thomas the first Earl of Derby, whom she out-lived, died in the year 1509, and was interred in Westminster abbey with her royal ancestors.

Secondly, William, Earl of Derby, great grandfather to the last Earl James, was by patent of the first of James I. made Chamberlain of Chester for life; and after this, in the year 1640, another patent passed, joining James Lord Strange with his father, for both their lives, and the survivor of them.

Thirdly, William, Earl of Derby, died in 1642, and was succeeded in the said office by James Lord Strange, his son, who continued therein till the lords of Parliament removed him, and put in their speaker, Edward, Earl of Manchester, who continued to the year 1647, when the Commons thought fit to remove him, and put in William Lenthel, their speaker, and Humphrey Mackworth, of Shrewsbury, the Vice Chamberlain.

After him, in the year 1654, John Glinn was made Chamberlain, and appointed Philip Young, of Shropshire, his Vice Chamberlain. This John Glinn was afterwards, as I take it, Sir John Glinn, who had (upon the vote of both Houses above-mentioned,) made an offer of surrendering the inheritance of Harden castle, purchased by him from the agents of sequestration, to Charles, Earl of Derby, for a lease of three lives, which not being immediately accepted by the said earl, and his majesty afterwards refusing his assent to the bill passed by both Houses in his favour, he was glad to compound with Sir John Glinn for the property of the said castle, and had the same granted to him and his heirs, who now enjoy the inheritance thereof.

And here the reader may with me observe and lament the hard fate of the late loyal and brave Earl of Derby's sufferings and persecutions, in every state of property, whether in office for life or inheritance, nay, even in his person and family, his and their enemies being daily in hand to swallow them up; who, being exalted, and set on fire by unbounded power, their teeth became spears and arrows, and their tongues as sharp swords.

Sometime after this, Earl Charles obtained by patent the office of Chamberlain of Chester for the life of himself and William his son; upon the decease of whom it rested in the crown to the time the late Earl James was favoured therewith for his life.

Here followeth a List of the Deaths and Time of several of the Family hitherto omitted.

CHARLOTTE, Countess of Derby, died in the year 1664.

Edward Stanley her son, and brother to Charles, Earl of Derby, died in 1664.

Charles, Earl of Derby, her eldest son, died in 1672.

Mary, daughter of Charles, Earl of Derby, died in 1674.

Catharine Lady Savage, daughter to Lord Colchester, died in 1687.

James Lord Strange, son of William, Earl of Derby, died in 1700.

William, Earl of Derby, his father, died in 1702.

Dorothy Helena Rupa, Countess Dowager, died in 1702.

Charles Stanley, fourth son of Charles, Earl of Derby, died in 1715.

Charlotte Lady Colchester, her daughter, died in 1717.

James, Earl of Derby, third son of Charles, Earl of Derby, died in 1735.

Having here brought down and gone through the leading line of the ancient house of Stanley, and also the first collateral branch, from whence sprung the Earls of Derby, with what remarks and observations I had to make thereon; give me leave to return to their natural brother, Sir Oskatel de Latham, on whom I have before said Sir Thomas, his father, had settled a competent estate, and given him the signet of his family, with the eagle in the crest, in token of his love and favour for him, and in memory of his supposed deliverance.

This foundling being possessed of the lands and manors above-mentioned, made choice of Earlham for his seat,

and became the ancestor of the Lathams, of Earlham; whose progeny continued in a direct line from him, without any interruption, until Cromwell's usurpation.

That Latham whose turn it was to be in possession of the paternal estate, followed the fate of that noble Earl of Derby who suffered martyrdom at Bolton; and though he escaped the hands of the executioner, yet was obliged to secret himself all the remaining part of his life from the fury of those times, when a great part of his estate within the power of the sequestrators, with many ancient deeds and records that particularly set forth the origin of the before-mentioned crest, and the history of it, were all rifled away, and eternally lost.

This unfortunate gentleman married a daughter of Egerton, of Riddley, in Lancashire, (own sister to the then Baronet of Bickerstaff's lady, ancestor to the present Earl of Derby,) by whom he had issue, one son and two daughters; the eldest of which daughters was never married, and died at Fulshaw, about the year 1730, after having lived in that family near forty years. She arrived to an extreme old age, and surprisingly retained a right use of all her senses till a few months before her death.

It was from this gentlewoman, says Mr. Finney, that I received the most authentic account of the family she sprung from, and indeed was even a living oracle to me, by a remarkable knowledge she had of sundry notable occurrences that happened in Cromwell's time when she was a young woman, as I have mentioned before. She was daughter to that Latham that was so severely treated in Oliver's days, and sister to the last male heir of that name, whose father dying before the restoration, she was left a minor under the guardianship of his mother and two uncles, of Bickerstaff and Riddley.

And although the estate had suffered so much in his father's time, yet he still retained the inheritance of a fair patrimony, though incumbered; but by the provident care

and prudent management of his good mother, before her son came of age she entirely discharged his estate.

He married a daughter of Ashurst, of Ashurst, in Lancashire, by whom he had issue three daughters; one of which, says the captain, was my mother, and the only surviving child of that gentlewoman the last Latham, of Earlham, and is still living.

As his father was a steady royalist, and suffered both in his person and estate for the cause of his king and country, so this gentleman made an early embarkation into that grand affair of the revolution; whereby he expended such large sums, and so far involved his estate through an ardent prosecution of the common-good, that he left me (being the next male heir by my mother's side,) nothing more than the coat of arms which by birth-right descended to me, and what the world could not alienate. This gentleman dying without issue male, both the name and estate of the Lathams, of Earlham, were extinguished together.

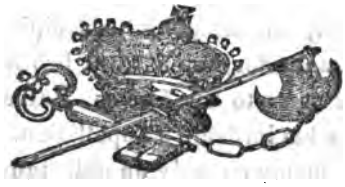
I have often heard my great aunt say, that Charles, Earl of Derby, successor to that noble lord that was murdered at Bolton, took particular notice of her brother when a youth and under the care of a tutor; and would frequently come to see him, and at proper times take him with him: That she never heard that lord, when speaking to him, or of him, call him by any other name but the top of his kin, a phrase he constantly used on such occasions.

The family well knew his lordship's reasons for that familiarity; and it was plain to them, not from their alliance with Bickerstaff, but from his lordship's knowledge that this Latham's ancestor was natural brother to Isabel, the heiress of that name to Sir Thomas Latham, and was the only motive for his lordship's appellation.

I have now in my custody an old signet, that my aunt used to say had been in the family two hundred years or more, and was esteemed the signet given by Sir Thomas Latham to his son Sir Oskatel, the crest being an eagle

with her wings extended, and looking back as for something she had lost, or was taken from her, as before.

I have also heard my aunt say, that the paternal coat of that family she sprung from was painted upon wood, and, as she had been told about a hundred years ago, with the bearings of the sundry families they had married into quartered therewith. Thus far Mr. Finney, of the family of Lathams, of Earlham, descended from that famous foundling Sir Oskatel de Latham; to which I have only to add and observe, that if any reader should still remain in diffidence of what I have delivered with respect to the two branches hitherto treated of, I do assure him that I have, with the utmost care, collected and examined what I have wrote on this subject from the best authorities I could meet with, and am fully satisfied of the truth and reality thereof. And if he will please to consider with me how many revolutions this island has undergone in a few centuries, then it will appear no wonder to him that the members of the national community have been so extremely distorted by those convulsions of state, as almost to wipe out of memory, and even history, many notable and remarkable transactions of the preceding ages; then, I say, it will appear no wonder to him if he meet with some things obscurely delivered, which he is requested to overlook or amend.



THE

SECOND PART

OF

The Genealogical History

OF THE

ANCIENT AND HONOURABLE

HOUSE OF STANLEY.

IN the first part hereof I have given the reader the direct and lineal succession of this most ancient house from their original, as far as I am able to discover it, to the year 1741.

I have also taken notice of and described the leading collateral branch, in the person of Sir John Stanley, whose successors became Earls of Derby; and have lineally deduced them from him to the demise of James, the late and last earl, in 1735, by whose death without issue the honour and earldom of Derby became extinguished in that noble branch.

I have likewise given the pedigree and genealogy of Sir Thomas Latham, Lord of Latham, and the marriage of his only daughter with the aforesaid Sir John Stanley, with their issue in the leading line, to the time before-mentioned; together with the history and descendants of his natural son Sir Oskatel, which hath so far completed the history proposed; and naturally leads me into a new scene of proceeding by a lineal and successive description of

every other collateral branch issuing out of or from the original stock, some of whom went out full as early as the said Sir John; but his branch, being highly advanced in honour and dignity, claims the first notice, and I will, as intended, give the reader a true light of our proceeding, and prevent all confusion in the coherence of one part with the other.

The first and next branch in due course is the honourable and worthy house of Greswithen, in the county of Cumberland, whose original and descendants are described by the following printed table.

GENEALOGIA

PRÆCLARÆ ET ANTIQUÆ FAMILIÆ DE

STANLEY.

WILLIAM de Stanleigh, Lord of Stanleigh, in the county of Stafford, Esq. — JOAN, eldest daughter and one of the heirs of Sir Ph. Bamville, Knight, Lord of Stourton.

John de Stanleigh, Lord of Stanleigh and Stourton, in Wirral, in the county of Chester, Esq. son and heir of William.

WILLIAM of Stanleigh, Ld. of Stanleigh and Stourton: he lived in the 26th of Edward III. — ALICE, daughter of Hugh Massey, of Timperley.

WILLIAM of Stanleigh, junior, Lord of Stanleigh and Stourton: he lived in the 10th of Richard II. —MARGERY, the daughter and heiress of William Hooton, Lord of Hooton.

WILLIAM of Stanleigh, Knight, Lord of Stanleigh. —MARGERY, the daughter of John Arden, Knight.

WILLIAM of Stanleigh, Esq. Lord of Stanleigh: he lived in the 10th of Henry VI. —MARY, the daughter of Sir John Savage, Knight.

JOHN Stanleigh, the younger son. —ISABEL, daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Latham, Lord of Latham.

JOHN Stanleigh, Knt. Steward of the Household to King Henry IV. —ELIZABETH, the sister of Sir William Harrington, Knight.

Sir Thomas Stanley, Knt. Comptroller of the Household to King Henry VI. who created him the first Baron Stanley. Of this Thomas are the Earls of Derby, the Lord Monteagle, and the Stanleys of Lancashire.

JOHN Stanleigh, of Greswithin, in the C. of Cumberland, the youngest son.

JOHN Stanleigh, of Greswithin, son and heir of John: he lived in the 10th of Edward III.

NICHOLAS Stanleigh, Esq. son and heir: he had by his wife the Manor of Awsthwaite, now called Dalegarth.

CONSTANCE, daughter and heiress of Thomas Awsthwaite, of Awsthwaite.

THOMAS Stanley, Esq. of Awsthwaite, in the County of Cumberland, son and heir: he lived in the 10th of Henry VI.

JOHN Stanleigh, Gent. second son of Hall Thwaite, in the C. of Cumberland.

WILLIAM Stanley, Gent. third son.

NICHOLAS Stanley, son and heir of Awsthwaite: he lived in the 38th of Henry VI.

THOMAS Stanley, of Hall Thwaite.

THOMAS Stanley, of Dalegarth, Esq.

ANN, daughter of Sir Richard Huddleston, Knight.

JOHN Stanley, son and heir.

WILLIAM Stanley, of Dalegarth, Esq.

ALICE, daughter of Sir Richard Ducket, Knight.

WILLIAM Stanley, son and heir.

THOMAS Stanley, of Dalegarth, Esq. — MARGARET, the daughter of J. Fleming, of Rydal, in the County of Westmoreland, Esq.

ROGER Stanley, son and heir.

JOHN Stanley, of Dalegarth, Esq. — MARGARET, the daughter of Tho. Senhouse, Esq.

THOMAS Stanley, of Dalegarth, Esq. — ISABEL, daughter of John Leak, of Edmonton.

EDWARD Stanley, eldest son. — ANNE, one of the two daughters and coheiresses of Tho. Briggs, of Cowmire, in the County of Westmoreland, Esq.

JOHN Stanley, Esquire. — MERCY, daughter of Thomas Stanley, of Lee, in the County of Sussex, Esq.

EDWARD Stanley, Esq. — ISABEL, eldest daughter of T. Curwen, of Setto Park, Esq.

CHRISTOPHER Stanley, second son.

THOS. Stanley, youngest son, Master of the Mint. — The Widow of Sir James Wytford.

MARY Stanley, the daughter and sole heiress, married to Sir Edw. Herbert, Knt.

second son of William, Earl of Pembroke.

JOHN Stanley, of Arnaby, in the County of Cumberland, Gent.

CHRISTOPHER Stanley, eldest son of John Stanley, of Arnaby.

WILLIAM Stanley.

THOMAS Stanley, of Lee, in the C. of Sussex.

RICHARD Stanley.

WILLIAM Stanley.

THOMAS Stanley.

JOHN Stanley.

JOHN Stanley, Esquire.—DOROTHY, daughter of Edward Holt, of Wigan, in the C. of Lancaster, Gent.

THOMAS Stanley, died without issue.

EDWARD Stanley, died young.

RICHARD Stanley.

WILLIAM Stanley, died young.

ISABEL Stanley, married to William Copley, of Gosforth Hall, in the County of Cumberland, Gent.

BARBARA Stanley, died unmarried.

DOROTHY Stanley, married to Robert Maudesley, of Maudesley, in the C. of Lancaster, Esq.

EDWARD Stanley, unmarried.

JOHN Stanley, died without issue.

MARMADUKE Stanley, died without issue.

EDWARD Stanley, Esq.—MILDRED, daughter of the Right Rev. Sir George Fleming, Bart. Ld. Bp. of Carlisle.

CATHARINE Stanley.

DOROTHY Stanley.

JOHN Stanley, Rector of Workington, married Clara, the daughter of —— Philipson, of Callgerth, in the C. of Westmoreland. Gent.

JOHN Stanley, died young.

EDWARD Stanley.

JANE Stanley.

CLARA Stanley.

THOMAS Stanley, died unmarried.

WILLIAM Stanley, died young.

HOLT Stanley, Lieut. in Brigadier Gen. Wentworth's Regt. of Foot, unmarried.

RICHARD Stanley, died unmarried.

DOROTHY Stanley, married Huddleston Park, of Whitbeck, in the County of Cumberland, Gent.

ISABEL Stanley, married John Kilpatrick, of Whitehaven, in the C. of Cumberland, Gent.

LOVEDAY Stanley, unmarried.

ELIZABETH Stanley, married Richard Cook, of Camerton, in the County of Cumberland, Esq.

*** I have to observe further of Thomas Stanley, Master of the Mint, that Sir Edward Herbert, younger son to William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, married Mary, the daughter and sole heiress of Thomas Stanley, of Standon, in the County of Hertford, Esq. in the year 1570, youngest son of Thomas Stanley, of Dalegarth, in the County of Cumberland, Esq.

THE

PEDIGREE AND POSTERITY

OF

SIR THOMAS STANLEY,

Second Son to Sir John Stanley the First, by Isabel de Latham.

THIS gentleman married to his lady, Maud, the only daughter of and heiress to Sir John Ardern, of Elford, in the county of Stafford, by whom he became possessed of a fine seat and plentiful fortune, and made that the residence of the family whilst the male line continued, who made a most eminent figure in military life. By his lady he had issue a son, named John, who succeeded him in honour and estate.

Sir John Stanley, successor to his father Sir Thomas, married three wives, but by the two first had no issue living, at the time of his third marriage, which was to Douce, the daughter of Leigh, of Baggaley, by whom he had one son, named John.

Sir John, the son of the above Sir John, had issue a son, named Humphrey, but by whom record, as well as history, are both silent, further than that Sir John died in the year 1509, and was succeeded by his said son.

Sir Humphrey Stanley, being a martial man of great experience, was sent by King Henry VII. in the year 1495, against John Lord Audley, and other opposers of that

prince, assembled on Black Heath, in Kent, where he entirely defeated them, but died that year, leaving a son and heir, called Sir John Stanley, of Pipe.

Sir John Stanley, of Pipe, married Margaret the daughter of Sir Thomas Gerrard, and by her had issue two daughters only, by which the male line of this most worthy house was extinguished.

But the elder daughter marrying to one Roger Stanley, of Alderley, in the county of Chester, had issue by him a son, named Roger, and styled Roger Stanley, of Alderley, in the county of Chester.

Roger Stanley, son of the first Roger, married Jane, the daughter of J. Clarke, of the county of York, and by her had a son, named John, and styled John Stanley, of Alderley, in the county of Chester.

John, the son of the above Roger, afterwards Sir John Stanley, of Alderley, in the county of Chester, married Mary, the daughter of Marberry, and by her had issue two sons, Thomas and Edward.

Sir Thomas, the elder brother, styled Sir Thomas Stanley, of Nether Alderley, in the county of Chester, married Elizabeth, daughter to Sir Peter Warburton, and by her had issue a son, named Thomas.

Sir Edward, the younger brother, was a martial man, and received the honour of Knighthood in the Low Countries, for his great services performed there; but was afterwards slain in Ireland, in the year 1586.

Sir Thomas, his elder brother, by Mrs. Warburton, succeeded his father, and had issue a son, named Thomas, but by whom I am not informed, further than that Sir Thomas, the son of the above Sir Thomas, had also a son, named James, but by whom I cannot yet discover.

James, the son of the above Sir Thomas, I conceive to be the present Sir James Stanley, of Alderley, in full life, 1741, but have not been favoured by the family with any account thereof, although requested.

THE

GENEALOGY AND ISSUE

OF

SIR JOHN STANLEY II.

SIR Thomas Stanley, the only son of Sir John above-said, by Mrs. Harrington, was Comptroller of the Household to King Henry VI. who appointed him Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, as his grandfather had been. He married to his lady one of the daughters and coheiresses of Sir Robert Goushell, and by her had issue three sons, Thomas, John, and James, all of which in their order, after acquainting the reader that he was by the same king created Lord Stanley, and from him sprung the Earls of Derby, his posterity and successors.

Thomas, his eldest son, succeeded him in the honour and lordship of Stanley, and was by King Henry VII. created Earl of Derby; the further history of whose life, and memorable actions, we have fully related in the first part of this book.

John Stanley, second son of the said Lord Stanley, married Elizabeth, the daughter and heiress of Thomas Wever, Esq. and had issue by her a son, styled Thomas Stanley, of Wever, Esq.

James, his third son, was Archdeacon of Chester.

Thomas Stanley, of Wever, and son of John Stanley aforesaid, married a daughter of Thomas Leversedge, of Weelock, Esq. and by her had a son, named Thomas Stanley, of Wever.

Thomas Stanley, the son of the above Thomas, by Mrs. Leversedge, married one of the daughters of Thomas Davenport, Esq. and by her had three sons, Thomas, John, and Ralph.

Thomas, the eldest son, in 1508 married Ursula, sister to Sir Hugh Cholmondeley, and by her had a son, named Ralph.

John, his brother, married a daughter of ——— Ward, Esq.

And Ralph, the third brother, married a daughter of ——— Holland, of Holland, in the county of Lancaster, Esq.

Ralph Stanley, of Wever, by Mrs. Cholmondeley, married Margaret, the daughter of John Masterson, of Namptwich, Esq. and by her had issue two sons, Thomas and Ralph; and one daughter, named Mary.

Thomas Stanley, eldest son of Ralph, four years old in 1580, and died in 1605, aged twenty-nine years. He married Elizabeth, the daughter of ——— Warburton, Esq. and by her had issue one son, named Thomas.

Thomas, the son of the last Thomas, and grandson of Ralph, styled Thomas Stanley, of Alderley, Esq. 1637, married Elizabeth, the daughter of James Pitts, of Kere, Esq. of the county of Wigorn, alias Worcester; but what issue he had by her, I am not informed, but take this to be the pedigree and genealogy of the Stanleys, of Park, in or near Alderley.

THE

GENEALOGY AND POSTERITY

OF

PETER STANLEY, ESQ.

Second Son of Sir William Stanley of Hooton, by Ann, the Daughter of Sir James Harrington.

THIS gentleman was the next collateral branch to that of Dalegarth, in the county of Cumberland, of the honourable and spreading family of Hooton, in Wirral. He married to his wife Elizabeth, the daughter and heiress of James Scarsbrick, of Moor Hall, Esq. in the parish of Aughton, by Margaret his wife, the only daughter and heiress of Thomas Atherton, of Bickerstaff; and by her had issue four sons and two daughters; to wit, Thomas, James, Robert, Edward, and Bridget and Mary his daughters; of all which in their order.

But first give me leave to acquaint my readers, that the said Peter Stanley, the father, was an eminent royalist, and joined his interest and force with that of his noble relation, James Earl of Derby, and shared with him greatly in the fury and violence of those unhappy times, being imprisoned, and his estate sequestered, to the great impoverishment and loss of himself and family. He escaped with life, but was greatly reduced to the time of the happy restoration, as by the following address of his six children to those disposers of other men's fortunes at their pleasure; to wit,

WIGAN, IN THE COUNTY OF LANCASTER.

"By the Commissioners for Sequestration, February 14th, 1650.

UPON the petition of Thomas, James, Robert, Edward, Bridget, and Mary Stanleys, sons and daughters of Mr. Peter Stanley, desiring a fifth part of their father's estate towards their maintenance, and that it may be set forth in specie or particulars; it is therefore ordered, that the agents for sequestration, where the petitioners' father's estate lieth, shall allow unto the petitioners one full fifth part of their said father's estate, together with the arrears thereof due, since December 24, 1649, deducting a due proportion for all lays and taxations, and observing the instructions concerning fifth parts.

"P. Holt.
"G. Pigot.

"Intra, Edward Wall."

The fifth part of the said Peter's estate being obtained by his children as aforesaid, Peter their father died, and was buried in his own chapel, at Ormskirk, July 24, 1652, and was succeeded by Edward his son, who in his father's life-time married the only daughter and heiress of ——— Houghton, of Gousnarch, Esq. and by her had issue several sons and daughters, the eldest whereof was Peter Stanley.

The said Peter Stanley married a daughter of ——— Wolfall, of Wolfall, Esq. and by her had three sons, Edward, Thomas, and William; but how his younger sons were disposed of in the world I cannot discover, nor who his daughters married.

Edward, his eldest son, married the only daughter and heiress of ——— Gerrard, Esq. of Aughton, by whom he had two sons, William and James. William, his eldest

son, died young, and was buried in his father's chapel, at Ormskirk.

He was succeeded by James, his second son, who had issue a son, named Edward, but by whom I cannot discover; also two daughters, Ann and Elizabeth. The said James died in the year 1653, and was buried in his own chapel, the first of January that year, at Ormskirk.

Ann, his eldest daughter, married Richard Wolfall, Esq. but by him had no issue, and died in the year 1730, aged eighty years and upwards; and Elizabeth, her younger sister, died unmarried. Whether Edward their brother ever married, or to whom, I am not informed of; for since the taking away the Court of Wards, in the time of King Charles II. all history of families, and their predecessors, and lineal successors, are laid aside in the heralds' offices, where they were wont to be preserved, and nothing is now more to be found or met with but what the parish registers contain of the birth or death of such a person at such a time, &c.



THE

GENEALOGICAL HISTORY

OF THE

BARONS OF STRANGE,

OF

KNOCKING, in SALOP.

THE history and full description of this very ancient and honourable family, will, from its long duration and many inter-marriages with the leading nobility, be attended with much difficulty in giving the reader a true and intelligible idea thereof, insomuch that I find myself constrained to introduce it by that of the earls palatine of Chester, without which, as I conceive, he will never rightly apprehend how the family of Derby became entitled to, and dignified with, the several honours I have annexed to it in the history of James, the last earl of that honourable house.

The Earls Palatine of Chester.

THE first whereof was Hugh Lupus, nephew to William the Conqueror, who gave to him the city and county of Chester, and conferred upon it the honour and dignity of a county palatine, with barons under him, and a chamberlain or chancellor of all his courts, with all other proper officers attendant thereon, as a principality.

Richard, the eldest son of Hugh Lupus, was second Earl of Chester, but being accidentally drowned, continued not long in that honour.

The third earl was John Bohun, who had married Margaret, sister to Hugh Lupus, styled Countess of Cumberland, by whom he had a son, named Randulph, and was succeeded by him.

Randulph Bohun, his son by Margaret, Countess of Cumberland, commenced the fourth Earl of Chester, in the twenty-first year of Henry I. 1120, and died in the year 1130, and was succeeded by his son Randulph.

Randulph, the second of that name, and son of the former, was the fifth Earl of Chester, and continued to the year 1152, and dying that year, was succeeded by Hugh, called Kavelock, his son, as sixth Earl of Chester, who had the misfortune to be taken prisoner, but was ransomed in the year 1174. He died in the year 1180, leaving issue one son and four daughters.

He was succeeded by Randulph his son, surnamed Blundeville, who was the seventh and last Earl of Chester of the Lupus line, and who had conferred upon him the Earldom of Lincoln. He died in the year 1232, and was buried with his ancestors at Chester.

Maud, the eldest daughter of Hugh, called Kavelock, Earl of Chester, married David, son to the king of Scots, who died in 1219, and left issue a son named John, surnamed Scott, who was also Earl of Chester, in right of his mother, but died in the year 1237, by which the Earldom of Chester expired with him.

King Henry III. then took that earldom into his own hands, and annexed it to the crown, as being too popular in the hands of a subject; from which time the king's eldest son has been styled Earl of Chester, Duke of Cornwall, and Prince of Wales. Now if any reader here has a curiosity to know the further particulars of the Earls of Chester, I must refer him to their history, and proceed to show the occasion I had to bring them in by way of introduction to the history of the Barons of Stanley, by informing the reader that Hawissé, the fourth daughter of Hugh

Bohun, alias Kavelock, Earl of Chester, married to Robert Lord Quinsey, Earl of Lincoln, descended lineally from Robert Lord Quinsey, who came into England with William the Conqueror.

This Robert Lord Quinsey, Earl of Lincoln, had issue by Hawisse his wife two daughters. Margaret, the eldest daughter, married to John Lacey, Baron of Halton.

And the second daughter married to Hugh Audley, Baron of Healey Castle, in the county of Stafford, a near relation to the house of Stanley.

John Lacy, Baron of Halton, had issue by Margaret his wife, the eldest daughter, and one of the coheiresses of the said Robert Lord Quinsey, a son named Edmund, who succeeded his father in honour and estate.

This Edmund was likewise Baron of Halton, and married Isabel, the daughter of the Marquis of Saluce, by whom he had issue a daughter named Elinor, who married to Ebulo Lord Strange, of Knocking, who had issue by her in 1335, temp. Edward III. a son named Robert, whose mother Elinor dying soon after, Ebulo Lord Strange, his father, married to his second wife Alice, the daughter and heiress of Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, and widow of Thomas Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster, who died in the year 1322, as by Mr. Mills, page 945, and Mr. York, page 193.

Robert Lord Strange, the son of Ebulo aforesaid, succeeded his father in the baronies of Strange, of Knocking, and of Halton, and married to his wife one of the daughters and coheiresses of Thomas Lord Basset, by whom he had issue a son named Roger.

Roger Lord Strange, the son of the above Robert, married the only daughter and heiress of Hugh Lord Barnwell, by whom he had issue a son, named John.

John Lord Strange, the son of the above Roger, by Lady Barnwell, married Maud, the daughter of J. Lord Mohun, by whom he had issue a son named Richard. The

said Lord Mohun had two sisters, Philippa, who married Edward, Duke of York, and Elizabeth, who married William Montague, Earl of Salisbury.

Richard Lord Strange, the son of the above John, married to his lady the daughter of Sir Reynold Cobham, of Scarborough, in the county of York, by whom he had a son, called John Lord Strange, the son of Richard.

John Lord Strange, the son of Richard, married to Jacoline, one of the daughters and coheiresses of Richard Woodville, Earl Rivers, and sister-in-law to King Edward IV. and by her had issue one daughter only, called Jane, and sole heiress to the baronies of Strange and Mohun.

This Lady Jane married Sir George Stanley, the eldest surviving son of Thomas, the first Earl of Derby, who had issue by her three sons and two daughters, Elizabeth and Eleanor: he died in his father's life-time.

Thomas, his eldest son, succeeded him in the baronies of Strange, Mohun, Barnwell, Basset, and Lacy; and, upon his grandfather's death, succeeded him in the Earldom of Derby, as before-mentioned.

John, the second son of George Lord Strange, died without issue.

But James, his third son, had issue one son, named George, but by whom history and record are silent on that head, but very full in the character of his merit, valour, and military performances, being thereby advanced to the honour and dignity of Knight Marshal of Ireland. He was the common ancestor of the house of Grange Gorman, in the kingdom of Ireland. *See Barlow's History.* But of this gentleman more hereafter.

Sir George Stanley, called the black Stanley, (whom I have just before mentioned,) was the son of James Stanley, Esq. third son of George Lord Strange.

This gentleman was a most martial and valiant man in the field, and a wise counsellor in the closet. His boldness

and resolution in action were not to be withstood. He was an utter enemy to the Irish, insomuch that his name was a terror to them. When he engaged them their cry was, "Pagh Chrish saave me cramochree:" and happy was he that could get away soonest. None came thither before him more hardy, nor exposed himself to more danger nor hazards of life than he, until he had fully reduced the rebellious sons of that nation to the king his master's obedience; for which he was greatly honoured and esteemed, and had, for his bravery and eminent services, conferred upon him the high office of Knight Marshal of Ireland, which he long enjoyed, and executed with the greatest honour and commendation, and was a great addition to his worth and memory. He became the founder and common ancestor of the Stanleys of Grange Gorman in that kingdom, whose posterity are still subsisting in the person of Sir John Stanley, one of the honourable commissioners of his majesty's customs, London; and upon his decease in a good old age and lasting reputation, he was interred by his very great and honourable relation Sir John Stanley I. whose memory (says my author, the Right Rev. Thomas Stanley, Lord Bishop of Soder and Man,) ought never to be forgotten.

The next collateral branch falling in course is the issue left by the great Sir William Stanley, who suffered death in the reign of King Henry VII. whose personal history hath been fully related; but hath not yet re-acted that of his posterity, of whom I am able to discover no more than one son, named William, who married Jane, the sole daughter and heiress of Sir Geoffrey Massey, of Tatton, in the county of Chester; but what issue he had by this lady, or how long this branch continued, I cannot discover.

The next collateral branch I meet with is styled Sir Edward Stanley, of Eusham, in the county of Oxford.

This gentleman was the only son of Sir Thomas Stanley, second son to Edward Earl of Derby, by Margaret, one

of the daughters and coheiresses of Sir George Vernon, of Haddon, in the county of Derby, and had the above estate, with others settled upon him in remainder, after his father and mother, by his said grandfather Edward.

Who this gentleman married I am not informed, but find that he did marry, and had issue three daughters, Petronella, Frances, and Venetia; but no issue male, by which this branch became extinguished in the Stanley family; and, as I am informed, the estate also, by division amongst the said daughters and their issue.

In the next place I find that Henry, Earl of Derby, and successor to the aforesaid Earl Edward, had a natural son, called Francis Ferdinand, on whom he settled Whittle, in the parish of Bury, where he afterwards lived, and also Broughton, near Manchester. Who he married I cannot be informed, but find at his death he left issue a son, named Henry, who mortgaged Broughton to James Cheetham, of Turton, Esquire; and that George Cheetham, of Smedley, Esq. paid off the said mortgage, and purchased the said manor of Broughton with its appurtenances from the said Henry Stanley, who, it is commonly reported, married a daughter of the aforesaid Peter Stanley; or, in other words, that a daughter of Peter Stanley married one of the Stanleys of Latham, but which of them I cannot discover.

The next collateral branch I meet with of the whole blood is Sir Robert Stanley, second son to William Earl of Derby, and younger brother to James the martyr. He married Elizabeth, one of the daughters of the Lord Widrington, and by her had issue two sons, Charles and James. James, the second son, died without issue; but Charles, the elder brother, had issue a son, named William. The said Charles is long since dead; and William his son likewise died, without issue, about the year 1691 or 1692, whereby this branch became extinct.

The next and last collateral branch I have to treat of,

issuing out of this ancient and honourable house, as far as I can collect or be informed, is the noble Lady Emelia Stanley, the third daughter to James Earl of Derby, by his renowned and most eminent Lady Charlotte de la Tremouille.

This lady married John, Earl of Athol, afterwards Marquis of Athol, by whom he had issue a son, born at Knowsley the 24th of February, 1659, and was baptized by the name of John the 8th of March following.

Also a daughter, born at Knowsley the 2nd of April, and baptized the sixth of the same month by the name of Charlotte.

Also another son, born at Knowsley the 8th of May, and was baptized by the name of James the 21st of May, 1663.

Thus far of this noble branch, from whom his Grace James, the present Duke of Athol, is descended, who being the last and most noble remainder of the very ancient and honourable house of Stanley, and also possessed of the most princely branch of their extensive fortune, the reader may justly expect I should give him the genealogical history of this most noble house, otherwise he may remain a stranger to the antiquity and honour of it; and that by their intermarriages therewith the honour of the house of Stanley was not diminished, which I shall endeavour to manifest in the clearest and fullest manner I am enabled from manuscript, history, and record.

Murray,* in Latin Moravia, is one of the north-eastern shires of the kingdom of Scotland, of great extent from east to west; on the north it has the German Ocean and Murray Frith, on the east Buchan, on the south Athol and Marr, and on the west Loquahar. It is in length ninety Scotch miles, and in its greatest breadth thirty miles; the principal town is Elgin, an ancient bishop's see, under the

* From the great Historical and etical Dictionary.

Archbishop of St. Andrews, but is commonly styled Bishop of Murray, and not of Elgin.

Murray is one of the most ancient as well as most numerous house in Scotland. Some historians write that they derive their original from Germany, and from that part of it called Moravia; however that be, it is agreed that they first planted in that part of Scotland called the shire or county of Murray, to which they gave name.

The family of Tullibardine has been reputed chief of this name, which is now in the person of John, Marquis of Athol, 1694, this family being united with that of Athol by his grandfather William Earl of Tullibardine's marriage with Dorothy, eldest daughter of John Stuart, the fifth Earl of Athol. The marquis's first predecessor of the family of Tullibardine was Congal, who got the barony of Tullibardine, with his wife Ada, from Robert Earl of Strathorn, which was confirmed to them by a charter from King Alexander II. 1234, which charter is still extant, and is dated at Scoon, April 10th; the witnesses, William, Archbishop of Glasgow, Chancellarius; Alexander, Abbot of Melross; Alexander, Abbot of Couper.

The granddaughter of Congal, called also Ada, had the barony of Tullibardine confirmed to her by another charter, which relates her being married to Sir William Murray, son to Sir Malcolm Murray, who was second son to Murray of Bothwell. Sir William had by this wife Sir Malcolm, who succeeded him in the barony of Tullibardine, which continues in the same name and family, by a direct line of heirs male, being ratified and confirmed by charters from several succeeding kings.

Murray of Bothwell's eldest son, called Thomas, had an only daughter, married to Archibald Black, the Earl of Douglas; and his third son, called Andrew, was father to that Andrew who married the sister of King Robert Bruce, and was governor of Scotland in the troublesome times of King David Bruce's minority; and there is yet

remaining on the castle of Bothwell the Murray's arms cut in stone, as the family of Tullibardine still bears.

Buchanan and Spotswood's Histories mention Sir William Murray, of Tullibardine, offering himself to accept the challenge of the Earl of Bothwell, after refusing of his brother at the head of Queen Mary's army near Musselborough, for deciding the truth of that earl's being guilty of the murder of King Henry, who was husband to the said queen. This Sir William married Jane, daughter of the Lord Graham, by whom he had Sir John, afterwards Earl of Tullibardine, and five daughters; the Lady Arabella Countess of Marr, Lady Claikmanan, Lady Aberearny, Lady Rosyth, and Lady Fodrell Henderson.

Sir John Murray, created Earl of Tullibardine by King James VI. married Catharine Drummond, daughter to the Lord Drummond, and had by her afterwards William Earl of Tullibardine, Patrick, and Mungo, who was created Viscount of Stormount; and five daughers, Ann Countess of Kinghorn, now Strathmore; the Lady Grant, Lady Wanchton, Lady Gleneagles, and Lady Belnagowan.

In this Sir John's time, the peace of the country being disturbed by depredations, and there happening also some differences amongst those of the name of Murray, they had a general meeting, wherein they agreed that Sir John should be arbitrator of all their differences, and determine all their causes, as well civil as criminal; and obliged themselves to assist him, when required, in freeing the country from the depredations, against whom he also obliged himself to protect them.

This paper is subscribed by Sir Andrew Murray of Arngothe, Murray of Aberearney, and most of the considerable heads of the family, dated at Tullibardine, 1586.

William, the eldest son of the said Sir John Murray, Earl of Tullibardine, being accidentally with several gentlemen of his name at a wedding in Perth, when John Earl of Gowry was killed in 1600, did, with their assist-

ance, rescue King James VI. from the danger he was in by a tumult of the inhabitants after the death of the said earl, who had been their Provost; for which service his majesty did, by a writing under his own hand, confer the dignity of Sheriff of Perthshire upon the said William and his heirs, which has continued in the family ever since.

This William married Dorothy Stuart, daughter to John Stuart, the fifth Earl of Athol, whose son was John Earl of Athol, father to this present marquis, whose predecessor by the said Dorothy of the house of Athol was James Stuart, commonly called the black knight, of Lorn, lineally descended from Walter, the great Stuart of Scotland, who gave the sirname of Stuart to his posterity, and of whom Robert, the first of that sirname King of Scotland, descended.

This James Stuart married Jane, queen dowager of King James I. who was daughter to John, Duke of Somerset, third son to John of Gaunt, son to King Edward III. of England, to which James Stuart she bore John, created Earl of Athol by King James II. his brother by the mother's side. *Hauthorden's History, fifth of James, page* 47. The title had fallen into the king's hands by the forfeiture of the former Stuart, Earl of Athol, who had no succession, the Cummings having borne the title before them, which is all the histories make mention of.

There is also a charter, dated in the year 1460, wherein the said king James grants to John, Earl of Athol, eldest son to the aforesaid James, the lordship of Balveny, in portion with Margaret Douglas, commonly called the fair Maid of Galloway, in which charter the king calls this earl his brother. The same history, page 66, gives an account of this marriage, and calls her the Lady Beatrix, instead of Margaret.

In 1461, Donald of the isles proclaimed himself king of the isles, in King James the Third's minority, and possessed himself of the town and castle of Inverness, put the

country under contribution, and surprised the castle of Blare, with the Earl of Athol and his Lady, Buchanan, and Hauthorden.

In 1470, the same Earl of Athol, being made Lord Lieutenant by King James III. did reduce Donald of the Isles, and brought him to submit to the king's clemency; from which action the Earl of Athol had the motto, "Furth fortune, and fill the fetters." *Hauthorden's History, page* 87.

This John, Earl of Athol, after the death of Margaret Douglas, by whom he had only one daughter, who was married to the Lord Gray, took to his second wife Eleanor Sinclair, daughter to the Earl of Orkney and Cathness, by whom he had John, who succeeded, and four daughters; the Countess of Sunderland, Countess of Crawford, Lady Tullibardine, and Lady Glenurghey.

John Stewart, second Earl of Athol, married Jane Campbell, daughter to the Earl of Argyle, by whom he had John Stuart, who succeeded. This earl was killed at the battle of Flodden Field, assisting King James IV. against the English. *Hauthorden, January* 4.

John Stuart, third Earl of Athol, married the heiress of Ratray, by whom he had John, who succeeded, and three daughters; the Countess of Lenox, grandmother to King Henry, and mother to King James VI. the Countess of Crawford, and Countess of Errol.

John, the fourth Earl of Athol, and Chancellor of Scotland, married Gordon, daughter to the Earl of Huntley, who dying without children, he married Dorothy Fleming, and had by her John, who succeeded, and four daughters; Lady Lovet, Lady Salton, Lady Glenurghey, and Lady Weems.

This earl adhered to Queen Mary's interest till after the murder of King Henry, and then he was the occasion of the nobility's entering into a bond for the preservation of the young Prince King James VI. and commanded part of

the army against her at Pinky. He died, and was buried in the high church at Edinburgh, in 1579. *See Spotwood's History.*

John, the fifth Earl of Athol, married Mary Rathvan, eldest daughter to William, Earl of Gowry, by his wife Dorothy Stuart, daughter to Henry Stuart Lord Methwin, and Margaret, Queen Dowager of King James IV. and daughter to Henry VII. King of England. By this marriage John, Earl of Athol, had no sons, but four daughters. Dorothy, the eldest, married to William, Earl of Tullibardine before mentioned, by whom he had John, who succeeded, and Mary, married to Sir John Moncrie, chief of that name; Mary, the second daughter of John, married James Lord Innermouth. This Lord Innermouth procured the title of Earl of Athol, which afterwards he quitted in favour of Dorothy, his wife's elder sister; and this James died without issue.

John, Earl of Athol, eldest son to William Murray, Earl of Tullibardine, and Dorothy Stuart. He married Jane Campbell, daughter to Sir Duncan Campbell, of Glenurghey. He raised his men in the beginning of the troubles of King Charles I. for that king's service, against the Marquis of Argyle, who took part with the Parliament. His children were John, who succeeded; Mungo, who died unmarried; and Ann, married to James, Earl of Tullibardine, by whom she had no children; and Jane, who died unmarried.

John, created Marquis of Athol by King Charles II. bears also the titles of Tullibardine, Lord Murray, Balvany, and Gask. He appeared early for the interest of that king, and continued several years in arms against Cromwell. He was made, by the said king, Justice General of Scotland, Lord Privy Seal, Captain of his Majesty's Guards, one of the Lords of the Treasury, and one of the extraordinary Lords of the Session. He married Emelia Stanley, daughter to James, Earl of Derby, and

Charlotte de la Tremouille, daughter to Claude de la Tremouille, by his wife Charlotte of Nassau, daughter to William the great Prince of Orange. *Dugdale's Ba. of Stanley, Earl of Derby.*

And their eldest son, John Lord Murray, married Catharine Hamilton, eldest daughter to William and Ann, Duke and Dutchess of Hamilton, whose eldest son John is the ninth of that name of the House of Athol, and the nineteenth representative of the House of Tullibardine: the other children of the present Marquis are Charles Earl of Dunmore, Lord James Murray, William Lord Nairn, Mungo, and Edward, and Emilia married to Frazer Lord Lovat.

There were several cadets descended of this family of Tullibardine in England, as well as in Scotland. William Murray, grandson of Murray of Woodend, was created Earl of Dysert, who had three daughters: the eldest, Elizabeth, married Sir Lionel Talmoth, of an ancient family in Suffolk, and after his death John Duke of Lauderdale; his eldest son by the first marriage is Lord Huntingtaur; the second, Thomas, was Lieutenant General to King William in Flanders; her eldest daughter, Elizabeth, married the Earl of Argyle; the second, Catharine, married the Lord Doun, eldest son to Stuart Earl of Murray; the other daughter, by the Earl of Dysert, was married to the Lord Maynard, by whom he had Henry and Elizabeth.

David Murray, now Viscount of Stormont, is descended of a second brother of the family of Tullibardine, who married the heiress of Balvaird, which failing in the eldest son, Murray of Latherbannoky, who came of a younger brother, succeeded, and was created first Lord of Balvaird, and then Viscount of Stormont. Sir Charles Murray, of Bleto, is descended of a younger son of Tullibardine. Mr. Thomas Murray, one of the sons of Murray, of Woodend, a Cadet of Tullibardine, was tutor to King

Charles I. whose son Henry was married to Viscount Banning's daughter, by whom he had four daughters; the eldest, Elizabeth, married Mr. George Egerton; the second married Mr. Robert Peirpoint, of Nottingham, nephew to the Marquis of Dorchester, by whom she had William, who married the Countess Dowager of Kingston; the third daughter was married to Sir John Bowyer, and the fourth to Sir R. Bradshaw.

There were at one time seventeen brothers of the family of Tullibardine, by one father and mother, of whom are descended Murray, of Struan; Murray, of Woodend; Sir Thomas Murray, of Glendogg; Murray, of Tippermuir; Murray, of Dollary; and Sir Patrick Murray, of Auchtertiers, a considerable family in Perthshire, lineally descended of the youngest of these brothers.

There are also of this name the Lord Elibank, the Lairds of Aberearney, Potmais, Blackbaronry, Philip, Haugh, and Newton, all of ancient families, and considerable estates.

Having thus, with much labour and pains, deduced and brought down the ancient and honourable House of Stanley from their original, through many genealogies, to our own time, as well in all the collateral branches as the direct line, to his grace James, Duke of Athol, the last branch of the old stock, and given you their arms and honourable titles, with their chief seats, and all the memorable and most celebrated actions performed by them in their several ages; I have considered it no less than a duty incumbent upon me, and an act of justice due to the noble, ancient, and honourable House of Athol and Tullibardine, to declare their antiquity, magnanimity, and renown, with the many and high honours conferred upon the several branches thereof, for the steady and many eminent services done by them to their prince and country, as well in England as in Scotland; which being done, I have only to add the titles and seats of his present grace of Athol, who is styled The most noble James, Duke of Athol, Lord of Man and the

Isle, Marquis of Tullibardine, Earl of Strathtay and Strathardle, Viscount of Ballquidder, Glenalmond, and Glenlyon, Baron Strange, Lord Murray, Balvany and Gask, heritable Steward of the stewarties of Fife and Huntingtour, heritable Lord of the regalities of Athol and Dunkeld, heritable Captain and Constable of the Castle and Constabulary of Kincleaven, High Sheriff of Perthshire, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal of Scotland, one of the Lords of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, and Knight of the most noble and most ancient Order of the Thistle, whose chief seats are Dunkeld, Blaire castle in the Blaire of Athol, Huntingtour near Perth, and Falkland, with some others I cannot recollect.

And thus having finished what has occurred to me most remarkable of the two noble and united families aforesaid, I shall, by way of conclusion, subjoin part of an ancient poem in manuscript, wrote by a dignified member of the church, and a near relation to the honourable House of Stanley, treating of the family history for near two hundred years past, wherein the persons, lives, and actions of the Stanleys are represented to this time in a most lively manner. This was just sent to me by a private hand before my closing of the present history now before me.

And although the verse be something of the doggerel kind, and the language uncouth and obsolete, yet, upon due thought and consideration, I have resolved to give it to the public in its own natural dress, without adding or diminishing any thing from it; as what, in my sentiments, will be novel and entertaining to the curious reader, as well as pleasing and agreeable to the less learned, as it is to myself; the whole being a voucher or confirmation of many articles of antiquity asserted by me in the course of this history, with something new and unknown to me before, which I shall introduce by the author's own preface, and in his own style.

"————This for the merit of the subject;
"No doubt the poet did his best, so don't reflect."

THOMAS, FIRST EARL OF DERBY,

One hundred and seven years past.

IN KING RICHARD'S TIME.



A RIGHT, TRUE, AND MOST FAMOUS

CHRONICLE,

SET forth without any fraud or addultring flatterage (as some of our chronicles do,) of the noble and noteable acts of the Stanleys, which ungentlye be left oute of other chronicles, and yett as worthie to be notified, marked and registered for an excellent memoryall as others be, for actyveness and martiall deeds, and ready, if need require, to be proved matter of true effect, both by testimonie of writing and record of honest men yett living, that have seen and known a good part thereof, and to much pity and shame it should now be forgotten or left out, as in other chronicles they be, which doth disclose an affection in the writers, and may well be judged and called flatterage, which is an evil office; it declareth also the Stanleys descent, and how and by what means they came by that name of Stanley, and the commencement thereof in good and perfect; agragated and compiled by Thomas Stanley, by the permission of God, Bishop of Man, alias Soder, in the year of our Lord God 1562.

Amonge all delights and worldly comfort is to heare of our auncestors great name, pleaseth and reiseath a good natural harte, soe that flattery and lyes be utterly abolished, and only the truth shall herein be moved, as by just

record truly and well may be proved, not as some cronicles unjustly use flatterings, renowninge the worthy with them. I would such unjust writers for their untrue smatterings would offer themselves unto St. Thomas Waternson. But truth noe man can be offended at, not truth of right ought not to reprehended. But in martial way, hardy harts for such storyes be often wakeing in reading, or to heare now and then the stoute prowers of some valiant man; and great pitty it should not be in record, for first it bringeth the dead a noble fame and word, and alsoe to the heires thereof, giving them harts like Enterprice to atchyve in their prince's service dareing for no cost, but adventureth though land and life should be lost, and of land and life maketh no comparison to a valiant act right manfully done: True record of writinge is necessary, as appeareth by many a godly story; without writinge all fame should be lost at once; the stoute hardy men might be compared to the stones; the genitors is the cheif cause of their hardines, which in fine, is the cheife cause of forwardness, as Stanleys do specifie, what woneders hardy men have done for their lady's sake. Writinge of cronicles 'tis well reserved if Dame Fame follow well deserved. As for their honesty and truth to praise the valiant prowers of the stout Stanleys heroicke actions, and how they had the name, I will plainely and truely unfold to you by the following poems:

THEIR names be Awdley, of verry right discent,
I shall shew you how, if you give good intent,
As quickly as I can, without more delay,
How the name was changed and called Stanley.

In ancient tyme, much more then two hundred years,
Was our Lord Awdley, as by storyes doth appear;

Awdley by creation, also by name Awdley,
Then haveing a lordshipp that is yet called Stanley,
Which lordshipp he gave unto his second son
For valliant acts that before he had done.
Their this man dwelled many a daye,
And many yeares was called Awdley of Stanley.
Afterward he marryed the heire of Scurton,
And when Scurton dyed, thither he went to wonn,
And then he was called Stanley of Scurton;
The which name sticketh still to all his succession.

It chanced afterward a goodly man to his sonn
Espoused the daughter and heire of Hutton;
And afterwards at Hutton, as chaunce him befawled,
Hee dwelt, and Stanley of Hutton was he called.
One doth continue at this present daye,
Prayinge God that forthwith worshippe longe it may:
Thus sure undoubted, their first name was Awdley,
And thus forward by custome called Stanley.
And after a second sonn of Hutton chaunced,
By valyant acts was highly advanced.
To the English Court came the Admiral of Henod,
With gentlemen of France, to prove their manhoode:
One of them called the best with speare and shield;
The kinge sent John Stanley to meet him in the field.
He was allsoe named the chiefe of all France;
But this stout Stanley had such fortune and chance,
He did not only put his enemye to lack,
But he allsoe slew him, and broke his horse's back.

More gentlemen of England did there worthilye,
For each one over his enemye gott victory:
Frenchmen for their adventure may themselves blame,
Tho' they went not all home, yet they went with shame.
And for this act the king made John Stanley Knight,
For that he perceaved him a man of great might;
And for his hardy feate he gave him for his heire,
Wing, Tring, and Jump, in Buckinghamshire.

Then of the kinge he desyred most earnestly,
Lycence to pass the seas, adventures to try;
The kinge therewith all was verry well content.
And laudablye allowed him for his manly intent,
Thus over the sea Sir John Stanley is gone,
Streight to French Court, but meddle with him would none;
The Admiralls journey was not yett forgotten,
How he and compeeres were right well beaten;
For which they beare Sir John Stanley malice and spyte,
But to reincounter with him none had delight.

His jolly entertainment of the French king
Was honourable and free in every manner of thing,
And gave him pleasure and gifts right bountifullye,
With good gold and silver plentifullye,
To maintayne his stoute and liberall expences.
Thus jolly Stanley departed thence is,
And visited all Courts in Christendom;
And to the Turkes Court personally did come,

Still gettinge great honor thereof did not fayle,
Against all those that in armes darst him assayle.

To England apace himself doth indevour,
With renown and honor to worthylie for ever,
And did attempt all the Courts in Christendome,
And won honor in each place where he did come;
Not sitting in house with pen, inke and paper,
But in camp advanced thro' great adventure.
I do not speake any man to despise,
That enhanced is by pen or marchandise;
For both must be had, and both verry necessary,
And both worthy of prayse, tho' the feats do varye.
But to say truth, that man risinge ought to be praysed,
That by hardy acts unto honor is raysed;
For of them be made books, both in prose and ryme.
Of others not soe, yet serves for the tyme:
Though of them have come divers full valyant,
Yet they may not their original so advaunt,
Nor soe largely set forth their renown soe farre,
As those whose commencement have come by warre.
Thus is returned Sir John Stanley home agayne,
Whereof the kinge and nobles were glad and fayne,
Who heard of his valyant acts more and more,
All sorts of people honoured him highely therefore.

Now agayne with the first earle I make my end,
To tell truth of his deede should no man offend;
For there is noe doubt, when lowe laid is the head,

As we deserve Dame Fame, such report will spredd.
Lett us trust no less in this world and the next,
God rewards noe man's person, as sayeth the texte.
Syth I have declared heretofore plainlye
Of his worthy acts and noble chivallrye,
I will somewhat in other matters procede:
Of his edyfications I will speak in verry deed.

First he builded fayre Latham-Hall out of the ground.
Such a house of that age cannot now be found;
I meane for the beauty thereof all onely,
But every office is sett soe handsome and necessary.
Garstang bridge that stands on the river Wire,
Rochdale made the same, at the earle's cost and hyre.
At Warrington was kept a common ferrye,
Which poled the king's people unreasonably.
None might goe to and froe, a horseback and foote,
But pay as they past; there was no other boote.
The good earle considering the people's cost,
Being tedious to pass by bote or by barge;
The earle made a goodly bridge on his own cost and charge,
With another goode and substantiall purveyance,
That was, he gave lands thereto for the mentenance.
This was a noble heart, liberal and kinde;
The people will praye for him time out of mynde.
At Paul's Chayne, in London, he made a house fayre,
And his house in Holborn he did well repayre;
At Collan Court and Gadesden he made great cost;
Jesu save his soule! there was no labour lost.

When Lathome mannor was made not after long,
A gentleman sayd, My lord, this house is stronge;
And if enemyes come neare they will fall a quakeinge.
Quoth he, I have a stronger wall a makeinge;
That is, to gett my neighbors good wills all:
To love mee truely is a more stronger wall.
He used them soe he did them thereunto bring,
Except a few which thereby wan noe thinge.
Who soe loved him he did to him the same;
And who did contrary got but loss and shame.
But the chiefest thing that gott the people's love,
Was, when Harry the VII. at his first comeinge did move
Lancashire and Cheshire a fifteenth to pay;
The people grudged, and in maner sayd naye.
The kinge heareinge thereof was grieved in his heart;
And there this loveing earle played a frendly part,
Well considered the state of his country;
He went to exchequere, and laid downe the money,
And then sayd, Sir, your fifteenth in your exchequere is paid,
For Lancashire and Cheshire it was not dismay'd.
I am glad, quoth the kinge, it doth soe well chaunce.
Thus the good earle quieted all the king's greevance.
But for the earle, happe thro' the same exaction,
Possible it had proved some fond comotion.
Loe here he gott not his love with highnes and cruelltye,
But with gentlenes and noble liberallytie.
For all controversies he found provision,
That but few for suites travelled to London.

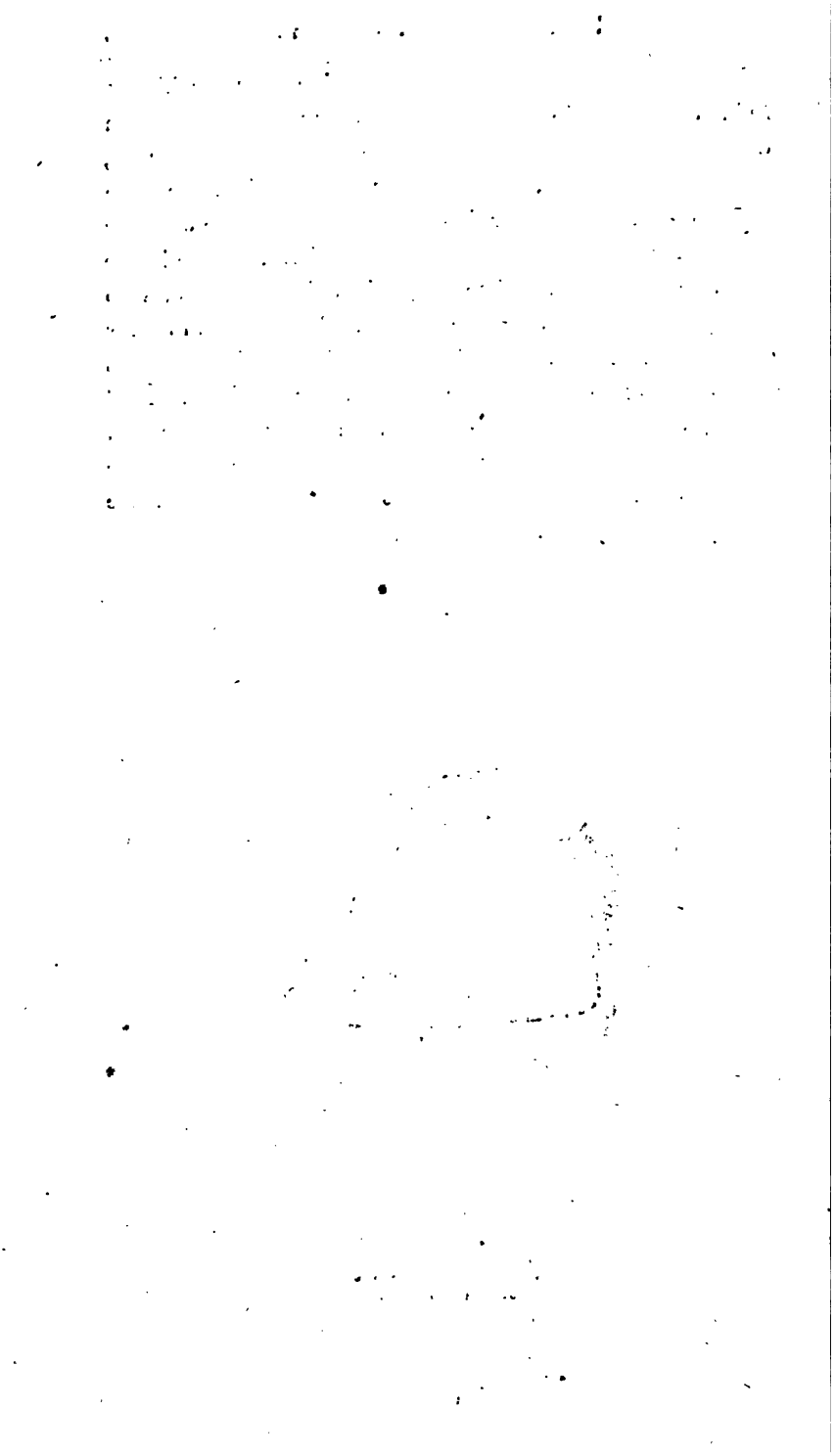
In such mattens (God wott) great payne took he;
He saved the countrey much travell and money;
And eased the poor people that had little to spend,
And thankes be to God of ech matter made a good end.
Now sithence must travell poor and rich all,
And for most part the great fish devoureth the smale;
Thus walks the world forward apase doth goe,
Stedfast in noe poynt, it shalle be well proved soe;
Thinke it no surer but as slipper as I see,
And who trusteth others in it surelye is unwise.
Noe man can last longer then the tyme
Which God hath appoynted; therefore shake off all cryme.
Wee must after this earle, perhapps not all thither
Where his soule is; I fear some be lither.
Wee be presisely sure each one to dye:
Noe mankinde hath charter to the contrary.
If might or money could have saved this man,
Or love of his neighbors, he had not dyed then:
But seeinge death is to us soe verry naturall,
Pray wee charitablye for each others fall;
And especially for his soule let us pray,
Of this honorable earle Thomas Stanley,
Who in honor and love hath ended his life,
With trueth ever in wedlocke to God and his wife.
The love which he wonn with liberallytie,
God keepe soe still unto all his posteritye.

AMEN.

Yett have I left behinde me a nottable poynt, which I had not presently in my remembrance, until an aged man that sometyme was servant unto this old first Earle Thomas, put it in my memory, which is, that where this noble earle was disposed to ride for his pleasure a huntinge or other progress, or to visitt his friend or neighbors, whose house soever hee went unto, hee sent his officers before, who made provision all at his cost, as tho' he had bin at his owne house. And at his departure the surpleesage was left to the use of the house where he had lodged. And thus was his manner and order in all places, where and when he travelled, unless by chaunce he came unto some lord's house. I report mee if this was not too honorable to be put in oblyvion.



J. Gleave, Printer.



A

COMPLETE HISTORY

OF

THE ISLE OF MAN:

CONTAINING

The Situation and Geographical Description thereof,

THE ECCLESIASTICAL AND CIVIL HISTORIES,

THE

WHOLE ORDER OF THE GOVERNMENTS

FROM THE EARLIEST ACCOUNTS,

THE NATURE OF THE SOIL,

THE

PRODUCE OF THE COUNTRY AND THE NEIGHBOURING SEA,

The Number of Inhabitants,

AND DESCRIPTION OF THEIR TRADE;

WITH

A particular Account of its Purchase from the DUKE of ATHOL, by the Government, under the reign of GEORGE III.

Manchester:
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY J. GLEAVE,
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1821.

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A

HISTORY

OF

THE ISLE OF MAN.

THE

INTRODUCTION.

THIS island appears but little, or but darkly known to the ancients; and amongst all our modern historians and geographers there is not one has given any tolerable account of it before Mr. James Challoner, Governor for the Lord Fairfax, and the great and learned Mr. Blundell, of Crosby, who prudently retired thither during the time of the usurpation, whereby he preserved his person in peace and security, and his estate from all manner of depredation. This gentleman being a person of polite learning, employed his leisure hours in collecting the History and Antiquities of the Isle of Man; and by his manuscripts, which I have seen, gave posterity the clearest and most correct account thereof.

But as to the rest of our English historians, few of them, especially the ancients, so much as mention it. Mr. Cambden indeed is the first that gives us any light or insight into it; after him the great Lord Cook and Doctor Heylin; but they all abound with so many errors and mistakes, that it is very unsafe and uncertain adhering to any of them.

Having said this, give me leave to observe what natural

misfortunes this country is said to labour under, which I am informed, and apprehend from some of its natives, is frequent penury, and want of many necessaries of life, occasioned by a thin unfertile soil, requiring more experience, labour, and manure, than the inhabitants in general are qualified to bestow upon it; for though there are few here that can be properly said to be rich, so neither are there many can be esteemed miserably poor. But were they so happy as to have the encouragement of some manufactures, and a more extensive trade of their own product, the country would not only be improved, but grow rich, and able to supply themselves by their own labour and product.

It is true they want many necessaries for the common service of life, as timber, salt, wrought iron, and coals, &c. But with all these they might be easily supplied by the countries round them, had they equal products to give in exchange, or indeed were there a herring fishery as certain and plentiful as formerly, it would supply all those wants, and to spare. But as blessings of this nature very much depend upon proper seasons and the bounty of heaven, they must pray for the one, and patiently wait for the other; and with thankful hearts and virtuous lives endeavour to merit those favours.

As I have given you the common, or rather accidental wants and misfortunes of this little part of the globe, I cannot but in justice show the blessings and advantages it enjoys beyond all the nations round about it.

The first whereof is a perfect unanimity in matters of religion, strictly conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the church of England by law established.

The next after this is the rectitude and goodness of their laws, so wisely formed, and so admirably adapted to their constitution, that the great Lord Cooke saith, "that the Isle of Man hath such laws as are not to be found in any other place."

Every man there pleads his own cause, without council or attorney, or any person who gains by encouraging strife. All chancery business is ended in twelve or fourteen weeks, to wit. Four court days, matters of common law are something more dilatory by reason court days come but twice a year; but the ease of the government, and every man's interest, draws all suits and controversies to as speedy a conclusion as can possibly be contrived.

There is in this little world, besides this happiness, an universal plenty and cheapness in all seasonable times, which makes it the resort of many people in distress and low life. Their own ale has been long esteemed of equal goodness to any of its neighbours; their importations by themselves or strangers, of wine, brandy, rum, sugar, fruit, lemons, silks, velvets, coffee, tea, and china ware, are very large. And could they be once favoured with the exportation of them to their neighbouring nations, upon a just duty, and proper and well regulated conditions, England and its neighbouring friends would, in the opinions of experienced persons, be better supplied, and with less hazard to our manufactures, and more advantage of his majesty's revenue.

But be that as it will, as God has been pleased to give them plenty, he hath also given them hearts to enjoy it. The people are naturally of a cheerful, sociable, and debonair temper, much inclined to music and freedom among themselves, very loving, but a little choleric. They were formerly reputed courageous, and eminent for many excellent military commanders, as will appear more fully from the history, as likewise the respect their kings had among foreign princes, of which Macon (not to mention more) was a most remarkable instance.

But above all, they have been famous for their hospitality to strangers, as great numbers of English in the late civil wars, and many thousand of Irish Protestants, in these late devastations of that kingdom, in 1689, can witness.

Nor were they less famous in former ages for sheltering distressed princes, of which I will venture to give my reader one instance.

Eugenius, when prince of Scotland, took sanctuary in the island for nine years, and was afterwards recalled by the nobility and people, and crowned King of Scotland: to omit Ederias, and Corbred, sirnamed Gald, from his travelling and learning, who were educated in this island, even before Christianity; for it is not improbable these princes might choose the Isle of Man for their retreat, because it was then and many ages after accounted the only seat of learning under the Druids, nor was it less remarkable under their first pious bishops.

Hector Boetius says, Man was the fountain of all honest learning and erudition; others of the Scotch nation tell it was the mansion of the muses, and the royal academy for educating the heirs apparent to the crown of Scotland, as Eugenius the Third himself, who likewise sent three of his sons, to wit, Ferguard, Fiacre, and Donald, into the Isle of Man, to be educated under Couranus, whom they write Bishop of Sodor; two of which sons, Ferguard and Donald, were successively Kings of Scotland, as both Hector Boetius and Hollinshead can witness; who likewise inform us, that even before this Couranus, (by Doctor Heylin writ Goran,) ordered that the three sons of his brother Congel, to wit, Eugenius the Second, Cougatus the Third, and Kinatellus the First, should be brought up in the Isle of Man, says Boetius, under the government of certain instructors and schoolmasters, to be trained up in learning and virtuous discipline, according to an ancient ordinance thereof made and enacted. So celebrated was the discipline of those ages, that it seems to have passed into a law, that the princes of Scotland should be educated in this island.

Having thus far shown wherein the ancient honour of this island consisted, I think it proper my reader should

know that it had formerly an order of nobility, for I find both earls and viscounts mentioned, but especially barons, who I conceive were the governors of the out Isles. In those days the Comes were the first magistrate in the country, and the Vice Comes his substitute; but of latter ages they have been appropriated as marks of honour to particular families.

There were likewise formerly several ecclesiastical barons in this isle, as the Abbot of Rushen, and the Abbot of Furness, and the Bishop of Man, who still retains that honourable title, and in regard thereof is to hold the lord's stirrup, when he mounts his steed, at the Tinwald.

But because those pious foundations lie buried in their own ruins, I shall crown my work with what is esteemed the greatest glory this world affords, viz. That it was a kingdom, if you will take the words of my Lord Cook: The ancient and absolute kingdom of Man, in Calvin's Case, Lib. 7, Chap. 21. Though since it fell under the homage of the crown of England, it was never granted but by the title of the Island and Lordship of Man, except to Sir John Stanley, who is styled King and Lord of Man, in their records as before-mentioned; so that it pretended to no such absolute dominion, for allegiance to the crown of England was reserved in all public oaths.

Not but that it still retains most of the essential marks and insignia of regal power, as making laws for its own government, of pardoning criminals, of holding courts in the lord's name, the patronage of the bishopric, the admiral of those seas, the coinage of money, and many other inferior articles of regality; which as they were derived from the favour of the crown to the house of Derby, so the constant and uninterrupted loyalty of that noble house may be justly esteemed to have deserved it, especially since they have managed that great trust and power with so much tenderness and care of the people under them, by which they have stood as lasting examples to all in power,

and transmitted to the remembrance of all posterity, that by their care, vigilance, and justice, there is one little spot of earth in the world where law, justice and equity, true religion and primitive integrity, have long done, and still do flourish, in contempt of faction, sedition, contention, want or division, or whatever else the world calls miseries and misfortunes.

DESCRIPTION

OF

THE ISLE OF MAN.

THE Isle of Man hath been called or known by divers names amongst ancient writers. By Cæsar it was called Mona, and is still so styled in their own records from all antiquity; by Ptolomy, and by Pliny, Monada; by Secunda Ninius, Eubonia; by the Britons, Menaw; by the natives, Manning; and by the English, the Isle of Man.

The length of the isle from north to south is more than thirty miles, and the breadth between eight and ten. It lies between 55 and 56 degrees of northern latitude, and 15 degrees of longitude. Castletown seems to be in the same parallel with York. A certain author says, it is placed in the navel of the sea; and in truth it seems to be the centre of the king of Great Britain's dominions, as it is almost equally distant in the north from Galloway, in Scotland; in the west, from Ulster, in Ireland; in the east from Cumberland; and in the south from Anglesea.

The Isle of Man lying nearer to the counties of Lancaster and Cumberland, than to any other of England, the inhabitants very much follow and partake of the customs and usage of those counties, especially Lancaster, with whom they have a constant trade for their cattle and other produce of the island, and in return supply themselves with salt, and all other necessaries wanting there. They have a natural respect for the people of Lancashire; whether it arise from their lord's usual residence in that county, or their being mostly supplied with their principal officers from thence, as governors, bishops, archdeacons, and many others of less note, I know not; but they have such an esteem for the people of that county, that it is a common maxim with them, that a good Lancashire Justice of the Peace generally makes the best Governor of the Isle of Man.

This island was many ages governed by its own kings, natives of the place; but through a long descent, and great variety of changes in the government, it is rendered too difficult to be pursued in a lineal and regular manner without many and long digressions; and as I conceive, it would appear more like a needless curiosity than of any service or useful information to the reader, therefore I shall neither give him nor myself more trouble than is needful on that head, to introduce the description and history of that island more clear and intelligible.

Beginning first with King Olave, the third son of Goddard Crownan, whose family had long reigned in the island, which was styled the kingdom of the isles, as will appear more fully in the sequel hereof. This young gentleman being greatly oppressed and harrassed by the more powerful kings of Norway, Denmark, Scotland, and Ireland, applied himself to Henry I. King of England, and offered him the kingdom of the isles. He was then a prince in the flower of his youth, peaceable, just, and liberal, but especially to the church, and therefore pious.

He assumed the government anno 1102, and by his princely address and prudent negociations procured the King of England for his patron, and by that king's intercession the Kings of Scotland and Ireland for his confederates; so that having nothing to fear from abroad, he applied himself to public works of mercy and piety at home.

First, by reforming the laws and the manners of his subjects. And wisely weighing that religion and good education greatly soften the temper and actions of a brutish and vicious people, for that purpose, in the year 1134, he gave the abbey of Rushen to Evan, Abbess of Furness, to serve as a nursery to the church; and hence it is that the Abbots of Furness had the approbation of the Abbot of Rushen, and some believe the right of electing the bishop himself, and a sort of chapter to his diocess.

Olave having thus laid the ground-work of his establishment, greatly endowed the whole church of the isles with large franchises, liberty, and immunities; the revenue of which was set out from the most ancient and apostolic manner, to wit, one third of all the tythes to the bishop for his maintenance; the second to the abbey, for the education of youth, and relief of the poor, (for those good monks were then the public almoners, and by their own labours rather increased than diminished the public charity;) the third portion of the tythes was given to the parochial priests for their subsistence.

Olave having spent near four years in all the calm enjoyments of peace and plenty, at last resolved to visit the King of Norway, and in the year 1142 did homage to Hengo, King of Norway, by whom he was honourably received, and before his departure crowned King of the Isles. He left his son Goddard to be educated in the Norwegian court, and then returned to Man, where he found the long peaceable course of his affairs quite altered; for the three sons of his brother Harold, who had been educated in Dublin, raised great forces, and demanded one

moiety of the kingdom of the isles. Olave desired time to consider of it, and on the day appointed to receive his answer, the principal persons on both sides met at Ramsey, where both sides being drawn up in lines opposite to each other, Reginald, one of the brothers, standing in the middle, as talking to some principal persons, being called by the king, turned himself of a sudden, as if he designed to salute him, but at the same time lifted up his battle-axe, and at one blow cut off his head. The nobility depending upon Olave, being all dispersed or slain, Reginald divided the country among his own followers.

Olave left by his wife Affrica, daughter of Fergus, Lord of Galloway, one son, who succeeded him.

The sons of Harrold, flushed with this success, had thoughts of conquering all before them. Immediately therefore they transported their forces into Galloway; but the people there behaved with such bravery and resolution, that they quickly forced them to return with shame and confusion, into Man, where they exercised all the cruelties upon the men of Galloway that shame, disappointment, and revenge could invent. But the justice of heaven suffered not so many villanies to go long unpunished; for, in the year 1143, Goddard, the son of good King Olave, returned from Norway, to whom the whole island immediately submitted. Upon which he ordered two of the sons of Harrold to lose their eyes, and the third, who had murdered his father, he caused to be executed. And having by these acts of justice cleared his way to the crown, by the unanimous and hearty consent of all the people he assumed the government.

Goddard was then in the flower of his youth, brave, active, and generous, with the mein and stature of a hero, and polished by education in a foreign court; all which, joined to the merit of an excellent father, attracted the hearts not only of his own people but of strangers also; and all the neighbouring provinces admired and envied

the happiness of the Manx nation, and every one wished for a king like theirs.

But as all human affairs are subject to frequent changes and unforeseen accidents in life, and the most moderate and prudent government in the world is not secure from faction and sedition at home, as well as enemies abroad, so it fell out with this good king; for one Thorfinus, the son of Otter, at that time the principal of all the natives, having been dispossessed of some lands he had a pretence to, and denied some favours he expected, grew a mal-content, and setting up for a patriot gained to his party several factious and seditious subjects; and by their aid, and such others as he could bring into his way of thinking, designed to work his own private revenge.

He therefore goes into Argyle to Summerled, who had married a daughter of good King Olave's, and persuaded him to make his son Dulgall king of the isles, in right of his mother. Summerled, being a prince of a hot, enterprising, and ambitious temper, embraced the proposal; and Thorfinus, by his own influence and persuasion, brought several of the western islands under his obedience. However the majority of the people as yet adhered to their lawful king; among these was one Paul, a person of great loyalty, interest, and virtue, who gave Goddard notice of all Thorfinus's projects, and Summerled's preparations.

Upon which the king equips eighty ships, and in the year 1156 a bloody battle was fought at sea, where both sides wearied with the slaughter made, and the victory still doubtful, the two generals agreed to divide the kingdom of the isles, by which all the northern fell to the son of Summerled. But he, not contented with a moiety, in the year 1158 came into Man with fifty-eight ships, and the people, either weary of the war, or the misconduct and unkind usage of their prince, all submitted to him; so that Goddard, by letting a discontented people slip from him, now found himself no more a king, but forsaken and slighted

by all, especially by those who had been the instruments of his severity and misconduct, and found no safer way to make their court to their new master, than by exposing the old, agreeable to that stated maxim, that he that will do ill to please his prince, will certainly do the same against him, when it appears his interest and advantage in so doing. Whilst these things were transacting, the dethroned King Goddard found means to escape into Norway, there to reserve himself to his better fortune. A lively instance of indolence and neglect, which presently degenerate into violence and unwarrantable measures, by which the gaining of a crown may sometimes forfeit the virtue which renders a man worthy of it.

Summerled, flushed with these petty victories, set no bounds to his ambition, but in the year 1164 raised a fleet of a hundred and sixty sail, with a resolution to master all Scotland; but, attempting to land his men at Rheinfern, was conquered by a few, himself and his son slain, with most of his people. The people were glad to be thus delivered; for they found, by dear bought experience, a sensible difference betwixt a passionate and misguided prince, and a real tyrant.

Every one now began to think of Goddard, their exiled king, whose six years' absence, and his own generous qualities, had blotted out the errors and mistakes of his youth and former government; so that all the hearts of the people inclined to his restoration.

At which time Reginald, his bastard brother, had gathered and armed a multitude of loose fellows of different nations, resolving with them to carry the kingdom of the isles.

The Manxmen stoutly defended their king's cause. The battle was fought at Ramsey, and the people lost the day by the treachery of a certain count, who probably dreaded Goddard's revenge upon him; but Goddard being truly informed of the island's good intention towards him, landed

the fourth day after the battle with a powerful assistance from the king of Norway. The people received him with joy, all former errors were mutually forgot, and Reginald was seized, and his eyes put out; and all those who might render the succession disputable were stripped of all power. From this time Goddard began to settle his affairs with prudence, gentleness, and moderation; and Macloten, son of Maccartack, King of Ireland, gave him his daughter Fingala to wife, by whom he had a son named Olave.

The year following the king took a progress through the isles, to settle the confused state of affairs there. During his absence, Emoreal, one of the blood-royal, attempting some novelty, brought a great multitude to the Isle of Man, who at first dispersed some few that guarded the coasts; but, the same day, the Manxmen rallied their whole force, and slew him and all his followers; and thus the king continued composing and settling the affairs of his government till the year 1187, in which he died, on the ninth of September, in a good old age.

This prince had tried both extremes of government, first ruined by success, and the ill conduct of his youth; but being made wiser by afflictions and experience, became a fortunate and happy prince.

This prince left three sons, Reginald, Olave, and Ivar, and appointed Olave his successor, because born in lawful wedlock; but Olave being then but a minor, the Manxmen sent for the eldest son Reginald out of the isles, and made him king, anno 1188.

Reginald was then of a ripe age, endowed with great qualities, as wit, courage, and resolution, mixed with craft, dissimulation, and revenge, which added to the natural injustice to his brother Olave, rendered his reign, though long, unhappy. Reginald, in the sixth year of King John of England, had done his homage for the Isle of Man, for which the king granted him a knight's fee in Ireland, and his protection, *pro feod* and *servitio suo*, says the record.

Reginald being at this time absent in Ireland, with all his forces, and all his principal officers, by which the people of the island had been great sufferers, began to think of their injustice to Olave their lawful prince, then in the vigour of his age, and master of all those refined qualities that render princes agreeable to their people, or men to one another; mild, just, sedate, pious, and liberal; to which was added, an admirable symmetry of body, which rendered him the darling of the ladies, who by their interest at home sometimes make the strongest abroad.

Reginald, returning into Man, and viewing the desolation of his country during his absence, and at the same time perceiving the lost affections of his people, resolved to remove his brother Olave, the idol of their hearts, out of his way; but not finding it safe to do it by open violence, he caused him to be seized and sent to William, King of Scotland, where he was kept in chains seven years, at the end of which, King William dying, was succeeded by his son Alexander, who at his coronation ordered all the prisoners to be released, among whom was Olave, who speedily returned to the Isle of Man, well attended by the nobility, and good wishes of the people, and presented himself to his brother Reginald, who received him with all apparent affection, and married him to the Lord of Cantyre's daughter, named Lavon, and sister to his own queen, but gave them nothing but the islands called the Lewis's, which necessity compelled Olave to accept of, since he could get no better. But coming into the Lewis's he found them barren, and altogether insufficient to support him and his retinue; therefore, urged on by despair, necessity, and justice, but more than all by the Viscount Skey, he resolved to push his good fortune to the utmost, and taking hostages of all the great men of the isles, set sail in the year 1215, with thirty ships, and landed in the Isle of Man; but the nobility and people interposing, the brothers came to an agreement, and divided the kingdom of the

isles betwixt them, of which Reginald, besides his moiety, had the Isle of Man allotted him.

Olave having refreshed his men, returned to his part of the isles. But Reginald, greatly regretting to be dispossessed of above a hundred isles, that he had been so long master of, sent to Allen, Lord of Galloway, for assistance, and the year following sailed into the out isles, with a design to dispossess his brother Olave; but the people absolutely refusing to fight against their natural prince, obliged him to return home without effecting any thing.

Reginald, restless and impatient with this second disappointment, pretends a necessity of a journey to England. The people cheerfully supplied him with a hundred marks towards his journey; but instead of going to England, he carried his daughter into Galloway, and married her to the son of that lord. But as nothing discontents a people more than the misapplication of public generosity, especially when they see themselves imposed upon, and betrayed to a foreign power, considering with indignation the ingratitude of Reginald, and their own injustice to their lawful prince, they by universal suffrage sent for Olave, and declared him king, in the year 1218. Reginald, seeing his error, though too late, resolves in good earnest on a voyage to the court of King John.

It is certain, as we have observed, that King John, in the sixth year of his reign, took Reginald, King of Man, into his protection, and granted him one knight's fee in Ireland; and also granted him one hundred quarters of corn, to be delivered at Drogheda, on the 26th of May, Anno Reg. sui 14. Anno Dom. 1212.

And King Henry III. Anno Reg. sui 2do. Anno Dom. 1219, granted to Reginald, King of Man, letters of safe conduct to come to England, and do him homage, &c.

And in the fifth year of his reign, 1221, the same king writes to his justice in Ireland, the fourth of November,

to deliver to Reginald, King of Man, his knight's fee, two tons of wine, and one hundred and twenty quarters of corn, granted him every year, by the charter of King John his father.

Now if it be allowable to compare so small a prince with an English monarch, there never was a nearer resemblance than in the fortunes of these two; both had obtained their government by injustice to the lawful heirs, both lost it by their ill treatment of the people, both of mischievous designing tempers, and both lived to feel the effects thereof on their own heads: only in this they differ,—John had offended the clergy, and Reginald his people. John had, some years before, made the most infamous submission to the pope that was ever heard of in story; Reginald, to complete the similitude, must do the like, either because it was the fashion, or that he could hope for no assistance without it.



THE

ACT OF SURRENDER

MADE BY

REGINALD, TO THE SEE OF ROME.

Reginaldus, Rex Insulæ Man, constituit se vasallum sedis Romanæ, et ex insula sua facit feudum oblatum, Londini 10. Cal. October, 1219.

SANCTISSIMO Patri et Domino Honorio Dei gratia summo Pontifici, Reginaldus, Rex Insularum, commendationem cum osculo pedum. Noverit sancta Paternitas vestra, quod nos, ut participes simus honorem quæ fiunt in Ecclesia Rom. juxta admonitionem, et exortationem dilecti patris Domini P. Norwicen electi, Camerarij et Legati vestri, dedimus et obtulimus nomine Ecclesia Romana, et vestro, et Catholicorum vestrorum successorum, Insulam nostrum de Man, quæ ad nos jure hereditario pertinet, et de quæ nulli tonemur aliquod servitium facere, et deinceps nos, et hæredes nostri in perpetuum tenebimus, in feudum dictam insulam ab Ecclesia Romana, et faciemus ei per hoc homagium et fidelitatem, et in recognitionem dominij, nemine census nos et hæredes nostri in perpetuum annuatim solvemus Ecclesia Romana duodecim marcas sterlingerum in Anglia apud Abbatiam de Furnes Cistertiensis Ordinis in festo purificationis B. V. Mariæ. Et si non esset ibi aliquis ex parte vestra vel successorum vestrorum, deponentur dictæ duodecim marchæ per nos et hæredes nostros penes Abbatem et Conventum, Ecclesia Romana

nomine. Hanc donationem, et oblationem dictus Dominus Legatus recipit ad voluntatem et bene placitum vestrum, et post receptionem factum ab eo sic ipse Dominus Legatus dictam insulam dedit mihi, et hæredibus meis in feudum perpetua possidendam et tenendam nomine Ecclesia Rom. et me inde per annulum aureum investivit, &c. Actum Lond. in domo militiæ templi 10 Kal. Octob. An. Dom. Millesimo, ducentesimo, decimo nono. Et ne super his aliquando possit dubitari, has literas fieri fecimus et sigillo nostro muniri.

Codex juris Gentium Diplomaticus per Godefridum Guliclmum Liebnitzium, impressus Hanoveræ 1693, folprodromus, page 5.

Reginald, King of the Isle of Man, constitutes himself a Vassal of the See of Rome, and of his island makes the offered Grant, at London, 22nd of September, 1219.

TO the most Holy Father and Lord Honorius, by the grace of God supreme Pontiff, Reginald, King of the Isles, kisseth his feet, and sendeth greeting. Be it known to your Holy Paternity, that we, as being partakers of the benefits derived from those things that are done in the Roman church, according to the admonition and exhortation of the beloved Father in God, Peter, Lord Bishop of Norwich, Elect Chamberlain and Apostolic Legate, have given and offered in the name of the church of Rome, and your's, and of your Catholic successors, our Island of Man, which belongs to us by right of inheritance, and for which we are not bound to do service to any; and henceforwards we and our heirs for ever will hold the said island as a grant from the church of Rome, and will do homage and fealty to it. And as a recognition of dominion, in the name of a tribute, we and our heirs for ever will pay

annually to the church of Rome twelve marks sterling in England, at the Abbey of Furness, of the Cistertian Order, upon the feast of the Purification of the B. V. Mary. And if there should not be any person there on the behalf of you or your successors, the said twelve marks shall be deposited by us and our heirs with the Abbot and Convent, in the name of the church of Rome. This grant and oblation the said Lord Legate accepts, according to your will and pleasure; and after acceptance so made by him, he the said Lord Legate gave to me and my heirs the said island, to be possessed and held in fee for ever, in the name of the church of Rome; and thereupon invested me therewith by a ring of gold, &c. Done at London, in the house of the Knights Templars, the 22nd of September, Anno 1219; and that no doubt may remain concerning the premises, we have caused this instrument to be made and sealed with our seal.

Vid. Codice juris Gentium Diplomaticus per Godefridum Gulielmum Liebnitzium, impressus Hanoveriæ 1698, fol. Prodromus, page 5.

Whilst Reginald by this infamous surrender was endeavouring to recover his lost estate, his brother Olave, for above two years, enjoyed an undisturbed possession in the government of the Isles, till at last compelled by the disorder of affairs to visit the remote parts of his scattered kingdom, and being well affected by the nobility and soldiery, he left the Isle of Man exposed to the fury of his brother Reginald, who upon this occasion embraced the opportunity, by returning from London; and, by the assistance of Allen, Lord of Galloway, and Thomas Earl of Athol, landed a great army in the Isle of Man, with which he laid the whole south side waste, murdering all the men they met, burning even the very churches, and committing all the inhumanities a tyrant, heated by resentment and

revenge, could invent. Till at last, glutted with so much barbarity, or perhaps apprehending his brother Olave's return, he drew off his forces, and Allen, Lord of Galloway, left his bailiffs to collect the revenue; but Olave speedily returning, drove away those collectors, and used all possible means to recal such as had escaped the fury of Reginald, so that the country began to be repeopled, and the natives to settle themselves in peace and security.

But the ambitious spirit of Reginald rested not here, for the same year, in the midst of winter, and in the dead of the night, Reginald, accompanied by the Lord of Galloway, landed a second time, and by his plausible insinuations debauched the whole southern division to his service. Of so mutable a nature are the vulgar, that those very people that had been just before so harrassed by burning their houses, murdering their kindred and relations, now publicly take arms in his defence.

King Olave flies for protection to the men of the northern division, who unanimously resolve to defend him and his cause; whereupon the two brothers engage in battle, at the place called the Tinwald, the public field of council and of arms. Reginald lost the day, and was slain in the heat of the action; and thus fell that restless and ambitious soul, who for above thirty years had disquieted himself and his people. His body was carried by the monks of Rushen to the Abbey of Furness, and buried in a place formerly chosen by himself.

Olave now hoping to enjoy all the fruits of his labours, and the rights justly due to him, resolves on a voyage to Norway, anno 1220; where, during the contest between the two brothers, the accustomed respect had not been paid, which occasioned the king of Norway to appoint a nobleman, one Heushack, to be king of the Isles, and gave him his own name, Haco, who on his arrival there was slain in storming a certain castle in the Isle of Bute, and never reached the Isle of Man.

Upon this Olave returning into the Isle of Man, brought with him Goddard, the son of his late brother Reginald, and by the consent of the people the isles were divided betwixt them, as a means to preserve a future tranquillity in both. Olave had Man allotted to him. Goddard, going to his share, was slain in the Lewis's, by which the whole kingdom of the isles devolved upon Olave, who for the better security thereof resolved to apply to the court of England; and in the year 1236 obtained from King Henry III. letters of safe conduct for Olave, King of Man, to come to him, to treat with him on business of moment; and being come to King Henry, he the same year gave him his commission, with forty marks, one hundred quarters of corn, and five tons of wine, for his homage and defence of the sea coasts, as long as he shall faithfully perform that service, which he enjoyed to the year 1237, the time of his death, which happened on the 18th of June that year, in Peel-Castle, in a good old age, greatly lamented by his people, as a prince worthy of better times, a better kingdom, and better subjects. He lies interred in the Abbey of Rushen, and was succeeded by his son Harold.

Harold was then about fourteen years of age, a youth of great hopes, and rare endowments both of body and mind; but before he was well settled in his new government, (led either by the necessity of his affairs, or a youthful curiosity) resolved on a progress through his whole kingdom, which consisted of near three hundred islands, but dispersed, and many degrees remote; and for the security and good of the island, he appointed one Logland, his cousin, to be his lieutenant, who probably did not execute that trust with the care and fidelity expected from him; of which the king being informed, sent the autumn following three sons of Noil, viz. Dufgall, Thorgall, and Malemore, with his trusty friend one Joseph, to examine and consult about his affairs in the island, and report the conduct of Logland to him.

Upon this a general meeting was appointed the twenty-fifth day following, at the Tinwald, their usual place of assembling for public affairs; but one side accusing, and the other defending, instead of counsel and composing the differences then subsisting, they fell to arms, the shortest way of ending controversies in those days. Dufgall, Malamore, and Joseph, fell in the quarrel. Upon information whereof, the king, greatly incensed, returned into Man the spring following, and Logland justly apprehending his displeasure, attempted to fly into Wales with Godard, a younger son of Olave, but suffered shipwreck in his passage, with the young prince and all his retinue.

The power of the kings of Norway to this time had been the terror of the northern parts of Europe; but Harold had not paid that personal attendance at that court as was expected, therefore that king, in the year 1238, sent Jospatrick, and Giles Christ, the son of M'Kerthanck, to seize the revenue of the island to his own use. But Harold the year following took a voyage into Norway, where he conducted himself with that prudence and discretion, that after two years stay he was restored to all the isles enjoyed by his ancestors, to him and his heirs and successors, under the broad seal of Norway.

Harold, now secure of the inheritance of his predecessors, in the year 1242 returned into Man, where he was received with the universal applause and good wishes of the people, which he endeavoured to improve by all those public diversions which render youthful princes agreeable to their subjects. But considering nothing secures a lasting happiness like peace abroad, he entered into a strict alliance with the neighbouring princes of Scotland and Ireland; and to secure himself of the good affection of the monarchy of England, he procured letters patent from Henry III. dated the thirty-first of his reign, by which he was permitted to come into England, where on his arrival he was welcomed with all the public compliments due to his character.

The king honoured him with the Order of Knighthood, which in those days was never conferred, but upon persons of high birth and merit. In all places he was entertained with a generosity natural to the English nation; and at last was nobly presented by the king. In the same year he returned to his own country, where good fortune was at once showering down all the blessings of this life upon his head.

He received an invitation into Norway, whither he went, attended by Lawrence, late Archdeacon, now Bishop elect of Man, with a numerous train of nobility and ladies, and there was married to the king's daughter; and after a long and noble entertainment, with all the festivity usual on such occasions, he returned to Man, but was unhappily driven upon the coast of Radland, in Wales, where he suffered shipwreck, and perished with his beautiful young queen, his bishop, and almost all his nobility, and the ladies her companions; a sad conviction, that the highest felicities this world affords are too often but a more solemn introduction to our ruin, which was unhappily verified as in himself, so in his brother and successor.

Reginald, his brother, assumed the government, Anno 1249, on the sixth of May; and the thirtieth of the same month was slain in the meadows near the Church of the Holy Trinity, commonly called Kirk Christ Rushen, with all his party, by a knight called Ivar. Whether the cause of their quarrel was love or revenge is not mentioned, or whether he had assumed the government without the consent of the people we are not informed of by record, further than that Reginald left one daughter very young, named Mary, who in the year 1292 claimed the kingdom of the Isles, and did homage to our King Edward I. in Perth, or St. John's town. And though we do not find in all the Norwegian line any pretence to a female succession, yet this gave ground for a plea, near four hundred years after, in which sentence was pronounced in favour of the heirs

general of Ferdinand, Earl of Derby, against his brother, Earl William, in the following case, wherein question was moved concerning the title to the Isle of Man, which by Queen Elizabeth was referred to the Lord Keeper Egerton, and divers Lords of the Council, and to three of the Judges of England, who in Trinity term, fortieth of Elizabeth, 1598, upon hearing of the counsel on both sides, and mature deliberation thereon, resolved on five points, viz,

First, That the Isle of Man was an ancient kingdom of itself, and no part of the kingdom of England. Secondly, They affirmed a case reported by Kelwin, the fourteenth of Henry VIII. to be law, to wit, Michl. fourteenth of Henry VIII. an office was found, that Thomas, Earl of Derby, at his death was seized of the Isle of Man in fee; whereupon the countess his wife, by her counsel, moved to have her dowry in the chancery: but it was resolved by Brudnel, Brook, and Fitzherbert, justices, and all the king's counsel, that the office was merely void, because the Isle of Man was no part of England, nor was governed by the laws of this land, but was like to Tourney in Normandy, or Gascoine in France, when they were in the King of England's hands, which were merely out of the power of the chancery, which was the place to endow the widows of the king's subjects, &c.

Thirdly, It was resolved by them that the statute of William II. de jovis conditionalibus, nor the twenty-seventh of Henry VIII. of uses, nor the statutes of the thirty-second and thirty-fourth of Henry VIII. of William, nor any other general act of Parliament, did extend to the Isle of Man, for the causes aforesaid; but by special name an act of Parliament may extend to it.

Fourthly, It was resolved, that seeing no office could be found, to entitle the king to the forfeiture of treason, that the king might grant by commission under the great seal to seize the same into the king's hands, &c. which being

done and returned of record, is sufficient to bring it into the king's seizure and possession, and into charge, &c.

Fifthly, that the king might grant the same under the great seal, because he cannot grant it in any other manner; and herewith agreeth divers grants under the great seal of this isle.

Sixthly, it was resolved that a fee simple in this isle, passing by the letters patent to Sir John Stanley and his heirs, is descendible to his heirs according to the common law; for the grant itself by letters patent is warranted by the common law in this case; and therefore, if there be no other impediment, the isle in this case shall descend to the heirs general, and not to the heirs male, upon which this affair was afterwards settled by act of parliament, as aforesaid.

During the race of Goddard Crowman, three qualifications seemed requisite for the descent of the government, to wit, a male succession, the consent of the people, and the approbation of the King of Norway, who was then acknowledged for the sovereign; and where any of these were wanting, it generally proved fatal to the prince and people.

Olave had left a third son, named Magnus, who probably was not in the island at his brother's death; so that Harold, the son of Goddard Don, grandson of Reginald, for a time usurped the name of king, and dispossessed all the nobility, depending on the successors of Olave, of their employments and commands. But the King of Norway sent for him, and made him prisoner for his unjust intrusion; and in the year 1252 sent Magnus, the lawful heir, to the Isle of Man, who was chosen king by the universal consent of the people: but finding it unsafe to trust to that title only, he the next year went into Norway, where after two years attendance he was declared King of the Isles, and the title confirmed to him, his heirs, and successors, Anno 1254.

These little princes had a nice game to play, as they lay surrounded with so many potent states. The Kings of Norway began to decline, and the Scottish Kings, from whom these islands had been taken, to recover strength; so that during the last vacancy they designed to have recovered them, had not their king died in the midst of the preparation. The monarchy of England was now almost their only refuge; so in the year 1256, Magnus resolved on a voyage to that court, where he was honourably received by King Henry III. as his brother Harold had been some years before, and was knighted by that king, as the greatest compliment that could be paid to strangers by our monarchs in those days of chivalry.

In the year 1263, Aquinus, King of Norway, resolved to revenge the affront the Scottish nation had designed against him, and accordingly made a descent upon that kingdom, but was so warmly received by their new King Alexander, (a generous and active prince,) that he was forced to take shelter in the Orcades, where he died, at Kirkwall.

This was the last feeble effort of that nation, which had spread its arms over all Europe for five hundred years past. It hath given kings to England and Sicily, dukes to Normandy, and held the sovereignty of those isles for near two hundred years past; but the continual throwing off of such vast numbers of the natives had so weakened itself, that some time after it became subject to the more potent and growing kingdom of Denmark.

Thus nations have their periods as well as persons and families; and the most enterprising generally destroy themselves soonest by their own ambition. The little kingdom of Man, deprived of the protection of Norway, could not support itself much longer; for Magnus dying anno 1265, in his castle of Rushen, was buried in the Abbey church of St. Mary, which he finished and caused to be dedicated, and left no child behind him.

He was the ninth and last of the race of Goddard Crowman, who for two hundred years had enjoyed the name of king, though in effect little better than lieutenants to the crown of Norway, and their inheritance became an insensible addition to the kingdom of Scotland, which rather took away an evil than conferred a good; for though the addition of a neighbouring country may increase a territory, yet different laws, interest, and religion, rarely cement themselves into a well compacted or united state.

THE

CONTINUATION

FROM THE SCOTCH CONQUEST

To the Settlement under the

HOUSE OF STANLEY.

ALEXANDER, King of Scotland, being informed of the death of Magnus, began to seize such of the out isles as lay most convenient for him, while the affairs of the little kingdom of Man were wholly distracted; but Magnus, King of Norway, son of Aquinus, thinking to apply some remedy to them, sent his chancellor into Scotland, with offers to surrender the Isle of Man and Bute, on condition he should peaceably enjoy the remainder. But Alexander bravely rejected the offer, with a protestation he

would win or lose them all; and in pursuance thereof began to reduce them singly with success. But during his engagement therein, a new commotion arose in the Isle of Man, which gave him some concern and uneasiness, as intending to unite the whole kingdom of the isles to that of Scotland, and apprehending little opposition from that of Man.

But the Manx History informs us, that the widow of the late King Magnus, a woman of a haughty and intriguing spirit, who by the death of Reginald had cleared her own way to the kingdom, and secretly in love with a certain knight who had slain Reginald, her late husband's brother, named Ivar, now thought him the fittest person to supply the vacancy, there being no lawful successor, except the daughter of Reginald, and she but a child. The danger from Scotland seemed pressing; but what will not love and the temptations of a crown persuade men to?

Ivar, then in the vigour of his age, gay, generous, and popular; the boldest, the bravest, and the best of all the natives; one that had virtues enough to save, and vices enough to ruin a nation; readily embraced the offer of his kind friend the widow, his mistress, who had entirely forgot all affection, as well as duty and allegiance, to her late husband's niece and legal successor the Princess Mary. Her pride, ambition and aspiring lewd temper could think of nothing less than a crown.

But the child Mary was so happy as to be left under the care and guard of just, sincere, and affectionate friends, who, whilst the widow and her bully, Ivar, were making their way to the government, took care to have Mary secretly conveyed into England, with all the public deeds and charters, equally fearing the danger she was in at home as well as from abroad; but, being got into safety, we will leave her for a while to attend and wait her good fortune.

In the interim, Ivar vigorously prepares for the defence

of his new kingdom, and at least resolves to deserve, if not enjoy the crown. But the Isle of Man could do little singly with the more potent kingdom of Scotland; for Alexander having now reduced all the out isles, sends a numerous army under Alexander Peasley and John Commin, who landed at Rannesway, now Derby Haven, in the year 1270. Ivar, though much inferior in number, (as being deprived of all assistance from abroad,) received them with a resolution natural to the Manx nation, and fought them stoutly, and as bravely fell with the expiring liberty of his country, and with him five hundred and thirty-seven of the flower of the people.

Thus the kingdom of the isles was wholly reduced, in which the King of Scotland had spent four years, to wit, from 1266 to 1270. The King of Norway, now seeing the kingdom of the isles lost, sent his chancellor a second time either to redeem it or compound for a tribute. The first was absolutely rejected; but to end farther disputes, a peace was concluded under several articles; of which the payment of four thousand marks ready money, and one hundred pounds by way of tribute, were the principal. No notice was taken of Mary, the child, nor her right, though last of the family of Goddard Crowman, which had held the government two hundred years, and were now succeeded by Alexander, King of Scotland, who enjoyed it by a mixt title of arms and purchase, and governed by his thanes or lieutenants: the first of whom was Goddard M'Manus, too honest a man to make a good governor in his prince's sense, who, for refusing to be concerned in the murder of three brethren descended from the former race, was removed after he had held this station four years.

To him succeeded Allen, a man that understood his king's pleasure better than how to govern his people well. He was imperious, cruel, hard-hearted, inexorable, too much of the bully for the governor, and too little for the soldier. The people till this time had followed their here-

dilary kings with a cheerful, active obedience, by which they were enabled not only to secure themselves, but often to make conquests abroad; but instead of the generous firmness of their ancestors, they were now degenerated into a sullen and supine negligence, and their only study was how they might legally disobey. This increased the thane's severity; for the more a people suffer, the more men of brutish and cruel souls insult.

At last, grown desperate by their miseries, the natives universally rose against the Scots nation, with a resolution either to extirpate them, or fall to a man themselves; but by the interposition of their good bishop, they agreed to end the dispute by a combat of thirty on a side. The thane, who had been the occasion of the quarrel, as he stood spectator of the fight, was pressed to death by the multitude.

The Manxmen lost the day, and all their thirty combatants fell; the Scots lost twenty-five. This last struggle of the Manx nation made the Scottish king sensible of his false policy.

He therefore sent over Maurice Okerfair, a wise and worthy magistrate, one whose prudence made him reverenced in peace, as his honour did in arms, which rendered him terrible in war, dreadful to the stubborn, tender to the poor, and merciful to the afflicted. In him the exactness of the soldier gave an air and vigour to the laws, and the fineness of the gentleman softened their vigour in execution, by an excellent mixture of moderation and severity. He made it his business to allay the animosities of the two factions, and so far succeeded that he caused thirty cross marriages to be celebrated in one day. He held the government three years, and died in 1282, equally lamented by both nations.

Okerfair was succeeded by one Brenus, who pursued the gentle and moderate principles of his predecessor; and taught the people the art of fishing. He was unhappily

slain in some rencounter with the Highlanders, in the year 1287.

Brenus was succeeded by Donald, a person of great birth and reputation; but how long he had the government is uncertain, for in the year 1289 King Edward I. gave the Isle of Man, &c. to Walter de Huntercomb; for upon the surrender of the island by Richard de Burgo, who probably had been intrusted with it by one of the competitors of the crown of Scotland, King Edward, in the eighteenth year of his reign, committed the custody of this island to the aforesaid Walter de Huntercomb, a very brave and honest man, who the year following, by his master's order, surrendered it to John Baliol, King of Scotland, with a salvo, notwithstanding, to King Edward's right, and that of all other pretenders.

Whether he was ever possessed of it doth not appear, for the Scottish nation was at that time greatly embroiled by the factions of Bruce and Baliol, competitors for the crown. King Edward was chosen as arbitrator of their differences, and being at Perth, or St. John's Town, Mary, the last of the old family, and wife of John de Waldeboef, made her claim, and offered to do her homage for the Isle of Man, but was answered, she must claim it of the King of Scotland, who then held it.

It also appears by petition to King Edward I. in Parliament, in the thirty-third year of his reign, that while this isle was in the hands of John Baliol, King of Scots, Mary, the wife of John de Waldeboef, presenting her right to the Isle of Man, was answered, she must prosecute it before the King of Scotland, who then held it as above. But she dying in the prosecution, the right descended to William, her son and heir, and from him to John his son, and from him to Mary his daughter, who survived her brother, and then claimed the Isle of Man, as true and lawful heir, and was answered, Let it be heard in the King's Bench, and justice done.

In the thirty-fifth of the aforesaid prince's reign there is a memorable record extant, in Mr. Prinn, of our king's right, and seizure of the Isle of Man, for his own use, upon the dispossessing of Henry Bello Monte; the custody whereof was granted to Gilbert de Makaskall, during pleasure, who had expended one thousand two hundred and fifteen pounds three shillings and fourpence, in defence of it against the Scots, and likewise laid out three hundred and eighty pounds seventeen shillings and sixpence in victuals, which delivering to the governor of the castle of Carlisle, to victual it against the Scots, both the sums were allowed him upon his petition, and ordered to be paid.

King Edward I. soon after dying, was succeeded by his son, the second of that name. This fickle prince made no less than three grants in one year, to so many of his favourites, to wit, Percy de Gaveston, Gilbert de M'Gascall, and Henricus de Bello Monte. The grant to the last is to be seen at large in Mr. Challoner. These uncommon proceedings put the island in great disorder and confusion, which gave King Robert Bruce an opportunity of ending all controversies, by asserting the right of the crown of Scotland; and in the year 1313, sat down before the castle of Rushen, which for six months was obstinately defended by one Dingay Dowill, though in whose name we do not find. But not long after, it was granted to Robert Randolph, Earl of Murray, during whose government, in the year 1316, Richard Le'Mandeville, with a numerous train of Irish, landed at Rannesway, (now Derby Haven,) demanding victuals and money, which being denied them, they divided themselves into two troops, and under the hill Warefield, now Barrowl, found the natives drawn up, but their spirits so dejected by their loss of liberty, invasions, depredations, and frequent change of masters, that they made little or no resistance.

The conquerors grievously spoiled the whole island and abbey of Rushen, and after a month's stay returned into

Ireland. After this the Scotch writers tell us of a grant to the Duke of Albany, the year uncertain; and lastly, to Martheline, the King's Almoner, who was sent over to take care of religion, and the reformation of manners, then wholly degenerated there.

He wrote against witchcraft, a practice too frequent in that place in those days. And for the better circulation of business, he is said to have minted a certain copper coin, with the king's effigies on the one side, and a cross on the other side, with this inscription, *Crux est Christianorum gloria:* the cross of Christ is the glory of Christians. To say truth, we have so little certainty of those times, that we rather expose their ignorance than inform ourselves; only this is certain on all hands, that in the year 1849, and in the seventh of Edward II. this island was retaken by the Scots, and John de Egarda, at that time a potent and eminent man in this isle, and his family, were driven from thence, after great losses sustained, into Ireland. Whereupon the king, upon his application, wrote to his Justice Chancellor and Treasurer of Ireland, to allow him a competent maintenance for his brave endeavours to serve him; who, after having refreshed himself, and collected his friends together, with what forces he could possibly raise, returned to the island, expelled the Scots, and restored the king's authority. Upon which the king again wrote to his officers in Ireland, to allow him a competent maintenance for himself, his family, and soldiers, *anno octavo regni sui.* Brave actions merit agreeable rewards, instanced in the loyalty, duty, and integrity of the above gentleman, and the justice and generosity of the prince in return thereof.

We come next to Mary, the last of the family of Goddard Crowman, whom we left attending her fortune at London, where she married John de Waldebeof, a gentleman of eminent note and figure, by whom she left a son named William, who entered his claim in Parliament, in the thirty-third of Edward I. but died before any thing was

determined therein, and left a daughter Mary. This lady coming to England with her grandmother's deeds and charters, cast herself at the feet of King Edward III. imploring his majesty's assistance. That generous prince not only gave her his protection, but married her to Sir William Montacute, whom Mr. Speed styles the chief star in the firmament of England; for he was magnanimous, affable, active, and generous even to a fault. His merits had acquired him the esteem of the greatest of our English monarchs.

The king gave him both soldiers and shipping to prosecute his lady's right, which he did so successfully, that in a short time he recovered the island from the Scottish government; and the Manx History says, that excellent prince caused him to be crowned, and styled King of Man, anno 1344, according to Daniel and Stow.

But as the gaining a man's right often costs him more than it is worth, he had contracted so great a debt, that he was obliged to mortgage the island to Anthony Beck, Bishop of Durham, for seven years. This bishop was styled Patriarch of Jerusalem, a proud, busy, crafty, covetous prelate of little good nature, but abundance of grace; and as usurpers generally gripe hard when they have got possession, so he obtained a second grant thereof from Richard II. for his life, after whose decease the island devolved upon William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, the descendant of the above William, who, in the year 1393, sold it to Sir William Scroop, Chamberlain to the king, as appears by record, viz. *Wilhelmus le Scroop emit de Domino. Wilhelmo Montauto insulam euboniæ est Manniæ, est nempe jus ipsus insulæ ut quisquis illus sit Dominus Rex vocetur ni etiam fas, est corona aurea coronari.*

This Sir William Scroop, afterwards Earl of Wiltshire, is said to have had all the vices of a great statesman, subtle, fawning, false, designing, timorous and unjust, covetous

and ambitious; and to support his own authority, misled a weak prince into a separate interest from his people, which in the end proved the ruin of them both; for the nobility, not able to bear his insolence and ill usage, rose against the king, though unsuccessfully, among whom the great Earl of Warwick, a true maintainer of English liberty, was banished to the Isle of Man, but soon after recalled.

For the Duke of Lancaster (afterwards King Henry IV.) landing in England, was universally received by the nobility and people, and Sir William Scroop, Earl of Wiltshire, had his head struck off without any formal process, for misgoverning the king and kingdom; and the Isle of Man was granted by King Henry IV. to Henry Piercy, Earl of Northumberland, upon condition he should carry the Lancaster sword (with which the king was girt when he entered England,) on his left shoulder at his own coronation, and his successors the Kings of England for ever.

This earl was a hot, enterprising, haughty, and ambitious man, a zealous assertor of the power of the nobility, for which he fell under an attainder; but was, not long after, restored to all his lands and honours, the Isle of Man only excepted, which he was deprived of by act of Parliament. The Isle of Man at first was ordered to be seized by Sir John Stanley and Sir William Stanley for the king's use only.

But in the sixth of Henry IV. the king made a grant thereof to Sir John Stanley for life, in the month of October; and on the sixth of the ensuing April, Sir John Stanley delivered up the said grant to be cancelled in chancery; and the king, in consideration of the said surrender, and other valuable causes and concessions by Sir John Stanley, regranted the said island to him, his heirs and successors, with the castle and peel of Man, and all royalties, regalities, franchises, &c. with the patronage of the bishopric, in as full and ample a manner as it had been

granted to any former lord, to be held of the crown of England, *per homagium legium*, paying unto the king a cast of falcons at their coronation, after such homage made, in lieu of all demands, customs, &c. whatsoever. Anno 1406.

In the reign of his late majesty, George I. the Parliament taking into consideration the injury that was done to the revenue, by the peculiar situation of the Isle of Man, for running foreign goods into this kingdom, (which could no way be avoided, as it was a private property, and governed by particular laws of its own,) proposed to the Duke of Athol, the proprietor thereof by right of marriage into the Stanley family, to deliver it into the hands of the government, for a stipulated sum, supposed to be equivalent to its value. But the duke, unwilling to alienate so large a property of his family, and which had been enjoyed with so much dignity by his ancestors, used all his endeavours to stop such a proposal, and exerted all his interest to suppress the prosecution thereof. Accordingly for some time the affair was suspended; but the abuses appearing more and more flagrant, and the injury every day increasing, in spite of the power of acts of Parliament to suppress it, the Parliament passed an act, empowering certain persons to treat with the duke for the purchase thereof, which, after several delays, was determined, upon condition of the government's paying at a stipulated time the sum of £70,000, for the use of the then present Duke and Duchess of Athol, or their heirs, or the heirs of either of them. In the year 1765, the time fixed, the money being lodged in the bank of England, pursuant to the agreement, as above, the following proclamation appeared in the gazette, which finally determined this great and important affair.

BY THE KING.

A PROCLAMATION,

For continuing Officers in the ISLE of MAN.

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS by an act made in the last session of Parliament, entituled, "An Act for carrying into execution a contract made, pursuant to the Act of Parliament of the twelfth of his late majesty King George I. between the Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, and the Duke and Dutchess of Athol, the Proprietors of the Isle of Man, and their Trustees, for the purchase of the said Island and its dependencies, under certain exceptions therein particularly mentioned,"—It is enacted, That from and immediately after the payment into the bank of England, by us, our heirs, or successors, in the names of John Duke of Athol, and Charlotte Dutchess of Athol his wife, Baroness Strange, Sir Charles Frederick, Knight of the most honourable order of the Bath, and Edmund Hoskins, Esq. or the survivors or survivor of them, of the sum of seventy thousand pounds, on or before the first day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty-five, the island, castle, peel, and lordship of the Isle of Man, and all the islands and lordships to the said Island of Man appertaining, together with the royalties, regalities, franchises, liberties, and sea ports to the same belonging, and all other the hereditaments, and premises, therein particularly described and mentioned, (except as therein is excepted,) should be, and they were thereby unalienably

vested in us, our heirs, and successors, freed and discharged, and absolutely acquitted, exempted, and indemnified, of, from, and against, all estates, uses, trusts, entails, reversions, remainders, limitations, charges, encumbrances, titles, claims, and demands whatsoever. And whereas we have caused to be paid into the said bank of England, in the names of the said Duke and Dutchess of Athol, Sir Charles Frederick, and Edmund Hoskins, the said sum of seventy thousand pounds, on the seventeenth day of May last past, whereby, and by virtue of the said act of Parliament, the immediate care of our said island, and of our loving subjects therein, is now devolved upon us. And whereas by our commission, bearing even date with these present, we have constituted and appointed our trusty and well-beloved John Wood, Esq. to be our governor in chief, and captain general, in and over our said island, peel, and lordship of Man, and all the islands, forts, castles, and lordships, thereunto appertaining. We, being desirous to provide for the due and regular administration of justice within our said Island of Man, and the territories and dependencies to the same appertaining, and to secure the peace and good order thereof, and to promote, to the utmost of our power, the happiness and prosperity of all our loving subjects residing within the same, have thought fit, with the advice of our privy council, to issue this our royal proclamation, hereby strictly commanding and requiring all manner of persons whatsoever, to pay due regard and obedience to the said act of Parliament, and our said royal commission, and cheerfully and dutifully to submit themselves to our said governor so appointed by us as aforesaid, and to be aiding and assisting to him, and all other our magistrates and officers, in the lawful discharge of their authorities, to them committed and intrusted, as they will answer the contrary at their perils. And our will and pleasure is, that all officers and ministers who now are, or at the time of the publication of this our royal

proclamation within our Island of Man shall be, concerned in the administration of justice within our island aforesaid, and particularly our clerk of the rolls, attorney general, and two deemsters, and all other persons whatsoever, who at the times aforesaid are or shall be duly and lawfully possessed of, or invested in, any civil employment, (except only the officers appointed and employed by the late proprietors of our Island of Man, in collecting and receiving the revenues arising within our said island, and the territories and dependencies of the same,) shall from henceforth hold their respective offices, places, and employments of, from, and under us, our heirs, and successors, and shall continue in the exercise thereof, and shall enjoy the same, with such salaries, fees, profits, and emoluments, as have hitherto belonged to the same respectively, until our royal pleasure in this behalf shall be further known. And we do strictly command and enjoin all and every the said persons, of whatsoever rank, condition, or degree, to proceed in the execution of the said respective offices, and to perform all the duties thereunto belonging, upon pain of our highest displeasure. And we do further charge and command all and every our said magistrates, officers, and ministers, and all persons whatsoever, who shall hold any office, place, or employment, ecclesiastical, civil, or military, within our said Island of Man, and the territories and dependencies of the same, that within the space of one calender month from and after the publication of this our proclamation within our said island, they do take the oaths appointed to be taken by an act of Parliament passed in the first year of the reign of his late Majesty King George I. entituled, "An Act for the further security of his Majesty's person and government, and the succession of the crown in the heirs of the late Princess Sophia, being Protestants; and for extinguishing the hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales, and his open Abettors;" and also make and subscribe the declaration mentioned in an act of Parliament

made in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of King Charles II. entituled, "An Act for preventing dangers which may happen from Popish Recusants," in the presence of our said governor, his lieutenant, or deputy, or in the superior court or courts of record in our said island, upon pain of our highest displeasure, and as they will answer the contrary at their utmost perils. And our will and pleasure further is, that all jurisdictions and authorities whatsoever, which were heretofore carried on and exercised in the name of the Lord of our said Island of Man for the time being, or of any other person or persons whatsoever, and which are now vested in us, our heirs, and successors, by virtue of the said act of Parliament, shall be henceforth carried on and exercised in the name of us, our heirs and successors only; and that all writs, precepts, processes, orders, injunctions, and all other forms of law and justice, and all acts of state and policy, for the due ordering and government of our said island, and the territories and dependencies thereunto belonging, shall be issued and executed in the name and by the authority of us, our heirs, or successors, or our governor or lieutenant, or deputy governor, for the time being, appointed, or to be appointed by us, our heirs, and successors, and in no other name, and by no other authority whatsoever. And we do hereby strictly command and enjoin our said governor, and all other our magistrates and officers, within our said island, and the territories and dependencies to the same belonging, to see this our royal proclamation duly carried into execution; and to cause the same to be publicly read in all the principal towns of the said island, between the hours of eleven in the morning, and two in the afternoon; and printed copies thereof to be affixed in the most public places of the same, and to be distributed to all the ministers of churches, chapels, and other places of religious worship, within our said island, and the territories and dependences thereunto belonging. And we do hereby lastly charge and command

all ministers of churches, chapels, and other places of religious worship aforesaid, publicly to read this our royal proclamation therein, on the next Lord's day after they shall receive the same, during the time of divine service, immediately before the homily or service, upon pain of our highest displeasure.

Given at our court at St. James's, the twenty-first day of June, 1765, in the fifth year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

A

TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

OF THE

ISLE OF MAN.

THE most general division of this isle is into north and south, each of which has its castle, deemster or judge, and vicar general; and both are subdivided into seventeen parts or parishes, distinguished by the name of kirks. The saints to whom they were in old time dedicated, viz.

Kirk Christ, of Rushen.

Kirk Harbery, dedicated to St. Columbus.

Kirk Melue, dedicated to St. Lapus.

Kirk Santon.

Kirk Bradon, which signifies a Salmon in the Manx language.

Kirk Maroom.

Kirk Concan, dedicated to St. Conca, mother to St. Patrick.

Kirk Cannon.

Kirk Maughald.

Kirk Christ, of Ayre.

Kirk Bride or Bridget, a Parsonage.

Kirk Andrew, the Archdeaconry.

Jorby, or St. Patrick, of Jorby.

Ballough, a Parsonage.

Kirk Michael.

Kirk German.

Kirk Patrick, of Peel.

Their parishes are again divided into sheadings, as the people call them, viz. the sheading of Kirk Christ, Rushen, the middle sheading, the sheadings of Garf and Glanfaba, Michael sheading, and Ayre sheading, each of which has its coroner, as the parishes have every one a captain and minister, and every fort its constable, having three parishes in every sheading, but that of Glanfaba, which has but two parishes in it. The island was formerly more populous than now it is. At present there are but four principal towns, viz.

1. Rushen, the chief town, situate on the north side of the isle, and from a castle and garrison in it commonly called, by the English, Castletown. It is the usual residence of the governor, and hath a market and fort, but is under no special officers, as a mayor, aldermen, &c. as corporations are, but offenders are apprehended and brought to justice by the officers of the fort, or constable, as in all other towns and parishes. The castle is a noble piece of antiquity, said to be built by Gutred, the second of their Orrys's, grandson of the King of Denmark. At the foot of the castle is a creek, where ships sometimes venture in, not without danger; but a mile distant is a good harbour, called Derby Haven, secured by a fort, built by the late

Earl of Derby. Pope Gregory IV. or rather St. Patrick, who came into the isle, erected an episcopal See here by the name episcopal Sedorensis, and his jurisdiction was extended to all the Hebrides; but now it is limited to this island. The bishop was formerly reckoned a baron, but never sat in the house of Peers, because he held of a subject, the Earl of Derby, and not of the king, yet hath the highest seat in the lower house of convocation.

II. Douglas, situate on the east side of the isle, the most populous town, and the most spacious and best haven in the isle, the mouth of which is secured so well by a fort, that there is not any attempting either the town or harbour from the seaward. In times of peace it is much frequented by French and other foreigners, who come hither with bay-salt, wine and brandy, and buy up coarse wool, leather, and salt beef, to carry home; by which means this town is become the richest in the isle, and has a good market.

III. Ramsey hath also a good haven, defended by a block-house, built by the late earl.

IV. Peel or Pile, anciently called Holmtown, hath a fort, erected in a small isle, and defended with a strong garrison which secures the harbour. The castle has a platform round it, well secured with cannon. In it stands the ancient cathedral, dedicated to St. German, the first bishop, and repaired by the Earls of Derby, as also a ruined church dedicated to St. Patrick, their apostle. Within this circuit is the lord's house, some ruinous lodgings of the bishop's, and other noble remains of antiquity.

There are some other towns of lesser note, but are remarkable for some particulars, as,

Balacuri, on the south side of the isle, where the bishop generally resides.

Laxy, which has the largest haven of any town in the isle.

This isle is compassed with huge rocks round about.

The air is sharp and cold in winter, and on the south-west side it lies open to the chops of the channel, and so is liable to a salt vapour, which sometimes has bad effects, but generally is very wholesome to live in, having no damps or venomous vapours arising out of the earth. They have some frost, but short and seldom.

The soil in the north parts is very healthy, sandy, and gravelly; and the north-east has a large tract of meadow called Curragh, which was formerly under water, but is now drained and well improved; but in the south there are good meadows and pastures.

All parts of the isle produce store of wheat, barley, rye, and oats, of late, since they have learned the art of liming their lands, and manuring them with sea-weeds; and some places have plenty of honey, flax, and hemp, and export yearly some fish-oil.

Towards the middle it is mountainous; and the highest hill, called Sceafell, yields a prospect into England, Scotland, and Ireland, in a clear day.

They have cattle of all sorts; but their meat and horses are small and poor, yet will endure a great deal of labour.

Their sheep thrive well, are fat, and well tasted; and their wool is very good, especially that which they call Laughton wool, which when carefully dressed makes a cloth near a hare-colour, which is one of the greatest natural rarities of the country.

They have plenty of goats and hogs of the ordinary size, besides a small kind which live wild in the mountains, called purs, which are admirable meat; and some red deer in the mountains: but they belonged, before the late cession to the government, to the lord of the isle, the Earl of Derby, who had lately stocked the Calf, a pleasant isle adjoining, with fallow deer, and made it a beautiful park.

Their hares are fatter here than in any other country, and they want not otters, badgers, and foxes.

Fowls also of several kinds are found here, as hawks,

which in King Henry IV's time were in such esteem, that Sir John Stanley, the first King of Man, in his patent, was obliged, in lieu of all other services, to present that king and his successors, upon the day of their coronation, with a cast of hawks, geese, hens, ducks, falcons, and wild fowl in plenty.

On the south side of the isle is another island, called the Calf of Man, which is stored with a sort of sea-fowl, called puffins, whose flesh is unpleasant; but being pickled, may vie with anchovies or cavear. They breed in holes like rabbits, and are never to be seen but in the months of June and July, which are their times of sitting.

There is also another kind, called barnacles, which are a kind of ducks and drakes, said to be bred out of rotten wood, but found, upon search, to be produced of eggs as other fowl.

Partridges and farkers will not live here, nor any venomous creature propagate their kind.

Here are many small rills of fresh water, and springs of a pure pleasant taste.

Here is also a pool in the mountainous parts near Kirk Christ, Rushen, of so vitriolic a quality, that no ducks or geese can live near it, which probably proceeds from the frequent spewings of copper that are discovered on all sides of those mountains.

They have sea-fish in abundance, as salmon, ling, cod, haddock, mackarel, ray, thornback, plaice, especially herrings, crabs, lobsters, and cockles, but few or no oysters; but what they have are very large.

They have no wood in the isle, nor is there a tree to be seen, though in former times there was great plenty, as appears from Goddard Crowman's hiding 300 men in a wood, and from the church called Kirk Arbory, which seems to be so called from *arbor*, a tree, as also from the timber found in their bogs, and especially in the meadows called Curragh; nor have they as yet discovered any sea

coal for firing in their soil, only they have plenty imported. The poorer sort make use of gorse, heath, ling, and broom, and a coarse sort of turf or peat in digging, when they often find oaks laying under ground.

They have some good stone quarries, especially limestone, on the sea shore, and the rocks called Minehaugh give very probable signs of other minerals. They have also lately found iron, lead, and copper, and there is great probability of finding coals.

This island seems to have been peopled from the Hebrides, or Western Isles of Scotland, and their language is a kind of Scotch-Irish, mingled with Latin, Greek, and English.

We have a specimen of the Manx language given us in the Lord's prayer, printed in Bishop Wilson's Enchiridion, and a collection of the Lord's prayer in above a hundred languages, printed in the year 1703.

The peasants are tall in stature, of a dull surly temper, and live in poor huts made up of stones and clay, and thatched with broom.

Their gentry are courteous and affable, and imitate the English in their carriage, apparel, and housekeeping.

The families of gentlemen named Christian and Caunel are of great antiquity, and out of them their deemsters or judges are usually chosen.

It is almost certain, that this island was never in the possession of the Romans, and so retained their original simplicity longer than the rest of Britain.

The original government of this island was a sort of aristocracy, I had almost said theocracy, under the Druids, admirably adapted to the good of mankind, and so mixed with the prince and priest, that religion and the state had but one united interest.

All controversies were ended by an amicable composition, and the integrity of their rulers was such, that their awards were instead of laws.

This was the true patriarchal government, to which virtue, not birth, was the best title, and is supposed to have continued here till the end of the fourth century, when, according to Mr. Cambden, out of Nenaius, this island was conquered by one Bailey, a Scot, who overturned the ancient form of government, and ruled all by his own will, which force, not reason, swayed, till necessity obliged his successors to agree in some rules and laws, which were the foundation of their present constitution.

The laws and statutes of this island are such, as the Lord C. J. Coke saith, that the like are not to be found any where else.

They were governed of old by a *jus scriptum*, which was committed to the fidelity of their deemsters, a certain sort of judges chosen every year to decide all controversies, a custom received probably from the Druids.

All possible care is taken for the speedy execution of justice.

The government of this isle hath, ever since its conquest by Bailey, been reputed monarchial, and was governed by kings of their own, who claimed the whole revenues of the isle; and all the inhabitants were tenants at will to him: but growing weak in power, they were made tributaries to the Kings of England, Scotland, or Norway. Their names are,

Monnan-Mac-Lear, son of the King of Ulster, and brother of Fergus, King of Scotland. Him the Manx believe their founder and legislator, and have him in great admiration for his wisdom.

Towards the end of his reign, St. Patrick, in his second voyage to Ireland, landed here.

The names of his immediate successors are lost, till

Brenus reigned, A. D. 594, who was succeeded by

Ferquard, Fiacres, Donald, Gutred, Reginald, Olave, Olain, Allen, Frigall, Goddard, Macon, or Macutus, Syrric,

Goddard, the son of Syrric, who reigned A. D. 1065
Fingal, son of Goddard, 1066
Goddard, son of Harold, 1066
Lagman, son of Goddard, 1082
Dopnal, son of Tade, 1089
Magnus, King of Norway, 1098
Olave, third son of Goddard, 1102
Goddard, son of Olave, 1144
Reginald, natural son of Goddard, 1187
Olave, the lawful son of Goddard, 1226
Harold, son of Olave, 1237
Reginald II. his brother, 1249
Magnus II. his brother, 1252
Alexander, King of Scots, 1260
William Montacute, 1305
Anthony Beck, Bishop of Durham, 1306
Pierce Gaveston, 1309
Henry Beaumont,
Thomas Randolph,
Alexander, Duke of Albany,
William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, 1340
Who sold it to William Lord Scroop, 1395

Who forfeiting it by treason, it fell into King Henry IVth's hands, who gave it to Henry Earl of Northumberland.

But he was banished four years after, and being deprived of this isle, it was given to Sir John Stanley, in whose family it has continued through many descents ever since, by the style and title of Lords of Man.

The Duke of Athol, as Lord of Man, was Admiral of the Isle, and had an absolute jurisdiction over the people and soil; so that he was immediate landlord of every man's estate, some few barons only excepted: and reserving his homage to the crown of England, no prince had a more full and ample authority.

He was sole patron of the bishopric, and all parsonages

and vicarages except three, which are in the patronage of the bishop.

He had power to make and repeal laws by the advice of his deemsters and twenty-four keys, who must have had his approbation, or he would reject them from the assembly.

He had power of holding courts in his own name; might hang and draw, or pardon malefactors, in his own jurisdiction.

All wrecks, royal fishing, &c. were his by regality, with many other prerogatives.

The civil policy of their government was managed by the lieutenant, who was the duke's immediate representative, and had often been of his family; with other inferior officers.

The lieutenant or governor has a power to call a Tynwald or Parliament, or any other Court, which cannot sit without his warrant. He swears inquests, is sole chancellor, and hath the sole military power to place or displace officers in garrisons, or otherwise; and whoever opposes him in any place or thing wherein he represents the king, robs him of his horse or arms, beats his servants, or breaks his house, is a traitor. Sometimes there has been a captain general, but it was only in some extraordinary cases. The other officers for the duke's service are,

A Receiver General or Treasurer of the Island. He has the charge of the revenue, and pays all the salaries of the civil list, but is accountable to

The Comptroller, who always sits with him both on receipts and payments, and is the auditor of the general accompts. He sits sole judge in all trials for life in the garrison, keeps the records, and enters the pleas of the several courts, where he is allowed fees.

The Water Bailiff, who is in the nature of the Admiral of the Island, and sits judge in all maritime affairs. He has the care of the customs, fishing, wrecks, &c.

The Attorney General, who sits in all courts to plead for the king's profit, as suing for felons, goods, forfeitures, deodands, &c. and is to plead the causes of all widows and orphans, they giving him twopence for his fee.

All the aforesaid officers act by commission from the king during pleasure, and upon his decease their power of acting all expires with him; in the absence whereof the sword takes place, and the chief Commanding Military Officer, who is generally styled Major, takes upon him the preservation of the peace of the island, by seizing the castle and forts, preventing all tumults and disorders, and all persons from going off the island to the prejudice of the inhabitants, until the civil power is restored and re-established by new commissions from the succeeding king.

All the said officers were esteemed of the household or court, and formerly had their diet in the family, where a constant table was kept for them and their attendants. These officers are all by their places justices of the peace, and are in all things to act for the king's profit. The king may call them as a counsel to his assistance, when he thinks proper, or occasion requires, either for the service of himself, or the country.

The deemsters, or judges, are the first public magistrates of the state, but were never part of the household or family. They sit as judges in all courts, either for life or property; they have always been two, one for each division of the isle. They are styled in the ancient court-rolls *Justiciary Domini Regis*. Whether they have their names from the old word to deem, judge, or determine, or to doom, sentence, or condemn, I am not informed, nor can take upon me to ascertain; but by the advice of the twenty-four keys they may, in all new and uncommon cases, declare what the law is, in such cases wherein the law is not fully expressed.

By the ancient law of the isle it is provided, that if any person accuse the deemsters of injustice or mal-adminis-

tration, he forfeits life and limb. The summons or process used by them is the same with the governor, to wit, a slate stone with one or two letters of their name made upon it; and to counterfeit or misapply this process is as highly penal in their law as the counterfeiting the lord chief justice's warrant is with us.

After the deemsters the twenty-four keys are the representatives of the country, and in some cases serve as the grand inquest of the isle. They are the last traverse in all cases of common law, are present at all trials for life, and in conjunction with the governor and officers of the household aforesaid make the legislative power of that little nation.

The next officers are the coroners of each sheading or division, who act in the nature of sheriffs, and are subordinate to the twenty-four keys.

Every parish hath likewise an officer called a moar, which is the lord's bailiff, and each of them have a subordinate officer not worth our notice.

The courts of judicature are usually twice in the year, to wit, about May and Michaelmas. The first are called sheading courts, and in the nature of our hundred courts, or courts leet and baron; these are held for the king's profit, and relate to all breaches of the peace, and all presentments are here made upon any violation of their laws or public orders.

Immediately after these are held the common law courts, where all actions relating to men's properties are tried. These courts were formerly held in every sheading distinctly, but now have proper places appointed for the holding of them, with all due regard to the ease and benefit of the people.

Next after these follows the grand court or general gaol delivery, in which are managed all trials for life; and perhaps there is no place in the universe where men have a fairer trial, nor where the taking away life is more tenderly regarded.

In this court the governor presides, assisted by the king's officers, with the bishop and his clergy.

The deemsters sit as judges, with the twenty-four keys, to advise with in case any new matter arises. The criminal must be first found guilty of the crime he stands charged with by the grand inquest, and if the case be treason or murder, the witnesses have a very particular and solemn oath administered to them, to wit. The clerk who administers the oath opens the book of the gospel, and the witness or evidence lays his right hand open upon it, then the clerk says to him;

By this book of truth, by all the holy and sacred body of the church, by all the wonderful works and mighty miracles God Almighty wrought in six days and seven nights, in heaven above, and earth beneath, you shall speak the truth, and say nothing that is false for love or fear, favour or affection, consanguinity or affinity, or any other consideration whatsoever; so may you be helped by the Son of God, and by the contents of this book whereon your hand now lies. Then the witness kisses the book.

After this, a peculiar jury of four out of every parish in the island is empannelled, and the prisoner may make his exception against fifty-six and no more. And if his case be felony only, and he suspects it will go hard with him, he may put himself to the king's mercy, and so evade the trial and sentence by the court; and the king, by their law, as well as his prerogative, grants him his grace in such manner as he thinks proper.

But if he stands his trial for life, when the jury come into court, and before they deliver their verdict, the deemsters ask them whether the bald pates (to wit, the clergy,) may sit; and if the foreman answer no, then the bishop and clergy withdraw, as not proper for them to sit or pass sentence in cases of blood; and then the verdict is delivered, and the criminal found guilty, and executed as the court directs; or, if acquitted, discharged.

There is likewise another court, called the Debet Court, in which all fines are set; and there is an Exchequer Court, which is held as often as the governor pleases, or occasion requires. There is also a Court of Chancery, which anciently was held weekly, but at present is kept monthly, wherein the governor sits sole chancellor, and may call the king's council and the deemsters to advise with, as he sees proper.

All actions brought in chancery are entered in the comptroller's office, of which the plaintiff presents the governor a copy, who grants his token upon it to summons the defendant, who may refuse appearance for three court days, but on the fourth he is brought in by a soldier, and the matter heard and determined. So speedy is the justice of this little government that it may challenge the world.

The religion professed in this isle is exactly the same with the church of England; but they have not the Bible in their own language. The ministers turn the English translation into the Manx language in reading the lessons.

The Manxmen are very respectful to their clergy, and pay their tithes without the least grudging.

The clergy are generally natives, who have had their education in the isle. They are sober and learned, and are allowed a competent maintenance of fifty or sixty pounds a year.

The people are so strictly conformable, that in uniformity they outdo any other branch of the reformed church.

There were anciently in this isle three monasteries, viz.

1. The monastery of St. Mary, of Rushen, in Castletown, which was the chief, and the burying-place of the Kings of Man.

It was a goodly fabric, as appears by the ruins. It consisted of an abbot and twelve monks, who had good revenues. The chapel was the largest place of God's worship in the island, except the cathedral.

It was a daughter of Furness Abbey, as were some other

monasteries in this isle. The abbots of it were barons, held courts for their temporalities, and tried their own tenants.

2. Douglas, a priory for nuns. This house is said to be built by St. Bridget, and the prioress was a baroness of the island. It is the most pleasantly situated in the isle.

3. At Brinnaken, a house of the friars minors, a small plantation of the Cistertian order.

The abbots also of St. Bees, of Whittern, in Galloway, and Banchor, in Ireland, were Barons of Man, because they held lands in this island, upon condition of attending upon the kings and lords of it when required.

Having now with some pains and perplexity of thought attended and brought my reader through the obscure and intricate history, constitution, civil government, and antiquities of the little kingdom of Mona, and corrected and amended what I have judged error or mistake in former writers on that subject, what remains before I conclude, but that I give the world the ecclesiastic history of this little kingdom, from its first conversion to Christianity, with the growth, state, and government of the church, its bishops, pastors, and overseers, from the earliest date, and the most approved authorities I have been able to collect from the various writers and histories of those ages?

The first mention I meet with of Christianity's appearance in the Isle of Man, is in Capgrave's Life of Joseph of Arimathea, wherein he tells us of one Mordaius, a king of that isle, being converted to Christianity, about the year of salvation 68, who had his residence in a city called Sodora. If this story be true, (which I much doubt on, as hereafter,) Christianity had an early plantation in this island. But it is matter of wonder to me, that this conversion of the king should not have had a more general influence over the people; for in all the authors I have met with, I find no mention of Christianity in this part of the world of near 400 years after this story, except in another

such like story, by Hector Boetius, who relates that one Amphibalus was bishop here about the time aforesaid. But as this story is rejected by most men of learning, except Archbishop Spotswood, I shall with deference consider him so far as to give you his relation thereof from his own words, Book 1st, fol. 3rd, and then make my remarks thereon.

He acquaints us, that one Cratilinth coming to the crown, in the year 277, made it one of his first works to purge the kingdom of heathenish superstition, and expel the Druids, a sort of priests held in those days in great reputation. Their manner was, to celebrate their sacrifice and other rites in groves, with leaves and branches of oak. And from thence, saith Pliny, they were called Druids, which doth signify an oak.

Cæsar, in his Commentaries, gives us this further account of them, that besides the managing of sacrifices, which were committed to them, they were intrusted with the decision of controversies, public and private; and that such as would not stand to their judgment were interdicted from being present at their sacrifices and holy rites, which was taken for a grievous punishment in those days.

It is likewise testified of them, that they were well learned in all natural philosophy, men of moral conversation, and for religion not so grossly ignorant and superstitious as other heathen priests; for they thought there was one only God, and that it was not lawful to represent him by any image; that the souls of men did not perish with their bodies; and that after death men were rewarded according to the life they had led upon earth. They lived likewise in great respect with all people, and ruled their affairs with great prudence and policy; for being governed by a president, who kept his residence in the Isle of Man, they did once every year meet in that place to take counsel together for the better ordering of their affairs, and carried matters with so much discretion, that the said King Crati-

hath found it difficult to expel them, because of the favour they had amongst the people.

But that which contributed greatly to the propagation of the gospel in this isle, was the persecution raised by Dioclesian, which at that time prevailed very greatly in the south part of Britain, and brought many Christians, both preachers and professors, into the kingdom of Man, who were all kindly received by King Cratilinth, and had assigned them by him lands and revenues sufficient for their maintenance.

In this isle King Cratilinth erected a stately church to the honour of our Saviour, which he adorned with all necessary ornaments, and called it *Sodorense Fanum*, that is, the Temple of our Saviour; hence it is, says the above story, that the bishops of Man are called *Sodorenses Episcopy*.

So long as this isle remained in the possession of the Scots, the bishops of the isles made that church their cathedral; but since their dispossession, the Isle of Jona had been the seat of the bishops of the isles, and continueth so to this day. In this isle Amphibalus (above-mentioned) is said to have sat first bishop, a Briton born, and a man of excellent piety. He lived long, preaching carefully the doctrine of Christ, both among the Scots and Picts, and after many labours taken in promoting the Christian religion, died peaceably in the said isles. Thus far the learned and good Bishop Spotswood, who in my humble opinion, with all reverence I think, preferred his zeal for Christianity before his judgment in the case above.

There are so many improbabilities in this and the story before it, that I cannot omit to observe some of them. First, Hector Boetius says Amphibalus fled from the persecution of Dioclesian, in South Britain, in the year 280. Whereas Dioclesian did not obtain the empire till the year 286, neither did the tenth persecution arise till the year 302; and Gildas and Polydore Virgil say exptessly, that

both St. Alban and Amphibalus suffered martyrdom in the year 305; and the general stream of all British writers concur in this martyrdom, neither do any of the Scotch writers mention Amphibalus, in the life of Cratilinth, before Hector Boetius and his followers.

And it is in my judgment almost impossible to conceive, that the Manx nation should preserve no memory of so considerable a blessing as their first conversion to Christianity; besides all their traditions are directly against it. Matthew Paris affirms, that the body of Amphibalus was found at Radburn, near St. Albans, in the year 1178; and many other marks of his martyrdom at Radburn strongly conclude he died for his religion in England, and never fled to the Isle of Man to erect a bishopric, and *Fanum Sodorense;* besides it must appear something wonderful and surprising, that no memory of Christianity, nor ruin of any such church should be found, or so much as mention made of them, at the time of St. Patrick's landing there, which is enough with me to show there is nothing of truth or certainty in the abovesaid story.

Next to the said accounts already taken notice of, Mr. Cambden, my Lord Cook, and Doctor Heylin, all three affirm, that the bishopric in the Isle of Man was erected by Pope Gregory IV. anno 480, in an island near Castletown; whereas the bishopric is sufficiently proved, by the great Primate of Armagh, to be erected by St. Patrick, about the year 447, and the place itself shows there is no such island near Castletown.

And herewith all the ecclesiastical writers of any credit in those ages agree, that St. Patrick (alias Patricius,) was the first that planted the Christian religion in the Isle of Man; and since their ancient, authentic, and national tradition concur therewith, I cannot but allow him to be truly the apostle of the Manx nation, as well as for the reasons following.

First, if I remember my reading rightly, I have met

with it in the curious essays of the great and learned Lord Montaigne, who lived about the time of Pope Gregory IV. or not long after. This pope was said to be a person of great learning, piety, and virtue, and a zealous promoter of the Christian faith, by which he obtained the epithet of Great; who, walking on a time through the market-place of Rome, espied a number of beautiful captive children sitting there to be sold, which induced his compassion as well as curiosity to go up to them, and inquire of those that sold them what country they were of; and being told they were Britons, he then asked if they were Christians, and was answered, no. Upon which he said, it was great pity that such angelical faces should not be made Christians.

In consequence whereof he soon after sent St. Patrick, with twenty more assistants, to preach the gospel, and convert to Christianity the people of Scotland and Ireland; for it does not appear he came into Ireland till the year 441, and Austin the monk had been sent into England before him by the same pope.

St. Patrick with his company, having landed in North Britain, met with great success in their mission; upon which St. Patrick leaving St. Andrew and other learned preachers to pursue the great work of propagating Christianity there, passed over to Ireland, where he found the harvest great, but the labourers too few: whereupon he returned to North Britain, in the year 444, and collecting together some of his former assistants, with some new converts of learned and religious persons, to the number of thirty, he came with them through the north of England, to take shipping at Liverpool for the south of Ireland; and on his approach near that town, the people came out to receive him, and at the place they met him erected a cross in honour and memory thereof, and called it by his name, which it bears to this day.

St. Patrick and his company having rested and refreshed

themselves awhile at Liverpool, took shipping for Dublin, but in his passage put into the Isle of Man, where he found the people, especially the rulers, given to magic; but being overcome and convinced by his preaching and miracles, they were either converted or expelled the island.

St. Patrick and his company going for Ireland, anno 447, left one Germanus, a holy and prudent man, *(ad regendum et erudiendum populum in fide Christi,* says Jocelinus) which, for the honour of the Manx nation, was sixty-nine years more ancient than Bangor, in Wales, which was the first bishopric we read of among the Britons, and 114 years before Austin the monk introduced the Liturgy of the Lateran, and thereby so absolutely settled the business of religion, that the island never afterwards relapsed.

Germanus died before St. Patrick, who sent two bishops to supply his place, Conindrius and Romulous, of whom we have little memorable, but that one or both of them survived St. Patrick, to the year 494, being five years, when one St. Maughold was elected bishop by the universal suffrage of the Manx nation; but by whom consecrated is very uncertain, as also his successors for some ages, which I shall studiously omit, and only acquaint my reader that one St. Columbus is acknowledged by all writers to be the founder of the abbey of Hye, in the Island of Jona, which monastery was the cathedral of the bishops of the isles, who were from that time styled *Episcopus Sodorensis*, from a village called Sodor, adjoining to the said monastery.

But after the Isle of Man was made the seat of the Norwegian race, the bishoprics were united, with the title of Sodor and Man, and so continued, till conquered by the English, since which the Bishop of Man keeps his claim, and the Scotch bishop styles himself Bishop of the Isles, anciently, *Episcopus Insularum Sodorensium.*

I could here enlarge pretty much on the succession of the bishops of this isle, from the time of St. Maughold,

yet as it is not certainly known who they were, or in what order they sat, I shall purposely omit them, and content myself with giving you a list of their succession from the time of Goddard Crowman, the first king I have before taken notice of, and so conclude my history of Man, both civil and ecclesiastical, and with the greatest certainty that I have been able to collect from the best writers on this subject.

THE SUCCESSION

OF

THE BISHOPS OF MAN.

HOW long St. Maughold sat bishop we do not find, only Dr. Heylin says, he was bishop anno 578, of which we have no other certainty, nor of a successor till the year 609.

Whose name was Coranus, tutor to the three sons of Eugenius, the fourth King of Scotland, as Bishop Spotswood informs us. After him the succession appears wholly broken till the eleventh century; yet during this long vacancy many errors arose, and many mistakes were advanced concerning it, which most of our English writers have fallen into without any good ground in history, save that the bishopric of the isles had its beginning about that time, to wit, in the year 840.

In a very ancient manuscript by the Rev. Mr. Henry Jones, nephew to the Right Rev. Dr. Fell, Bishop of Oxford, we meet with an exact succession for above 200 years, which, in the opinion of the learned, was extracted from the roll of the ancient abbey of Rushen in the Isle of Man.

This manuscript, by way of introduction, informs us, that though they had a traditional succession of bishops from the time of St. Maughold, yet they were not certainly known; therefore it was thought proper to omit them, and begin from the time of King Goddard Crowman, as before proposed.

In his reign we meet with one Hamundus, by some written Vermundus, Bishop of Man, and probably was the first bishop styled of Sodor and Man. He was the son of Jole, a Manxman. Matthew Paris says he died in the year 1151. It is not certain by whom he was consecrated, nor his successor, who was one

Gamaliel, an Englishman, who lies buried at Peterborough, in Northamptonshire; and was succeeded by Reginald, a Norwegian. To him the thirds of all the livings in the islands were granted by the clergy, that from thenceforward they might be freed from all episcopal exactions. It is probable that he was the first bishop that was consecrated by the Archbishop of Drontheim, in Norway. His successor was one Christian, a native of the isle, who lies buried in the monastery of Banchor, in Ireland. To him succeeded,

Michael, a Manxman, a person of great merit and exemplary life. He died in a good old age, and was honourably buried apud Fontanus. In the year 1203, to him succeeded,

Nicholas de Melsa, Abbot of Furness. He lies buried in the abbey of Bangor.

After him Reginald, a person of royal extraction, sister's son to good King Olave, was consecrated bishop in the

year 1216; who, though he laboured under great infirmities of body, governed his church with prudence and resolution. At last, with an exemplary resignation, he yielded up his soul into the hands of his Creator, and lies buried in the abbey of Rushen. He was succeeded by

John, the son of Hefare, who by the negligence of his servants was burnt, apud Jerevas in Anglia. After him one

Simond, a person of great discretion, and learned in the Holy Scriptures, governed the church with prudence and piety. He held a synod in the year 1239, in which thirteen canons were excepted, most of them relating to the probate of wills, the clergy's dues, and other inferior matters. He died at his palace of Kirk Michael in a good old age, and lies buried in the cathedral dedicated to St. German, in Peel Castle. After him

Lawrence, the archdeacon before-mentioned, was elected bishop, and after great disputes consecrated by the Archbishop of Drontheim, but was unfortunately drowned with Harold, King of Man, his queen, and almost all the nobility of the isle; so that the bishopric continued vacant almost six years, when

Richard, an Englishman, was consecrated at Rome by the Archbishop of Drontheim. This bishop consecrated the abbey church of St. Mary, of Rushen, anno 1257. After he had governed the church twenty-three years, and returning from a general council, anno 1274, he died, apud Langallyner in Copelandia; and lieth buried in the abbey of Furness. In his time the Scotch conquered the island. He was succeeded by

Marus Galvadiensis, commonly written Galloredinus, at the nomination of Alexander, King of Scotland; for which reason it is supposed he was banished by the Manxmen. During his absence, the island lay under an interdict; but at last being recalled, he laid a smoke-penny upon every house, by way of commutation. He held a synod at Kirk Braddan, in which thirty-five canons were enacted. He

lived to a great age, and was for many years blind; and lies buried in St. German's church, in Peel Castle. He was succeeded by

Mauritius, who was sent prisoner to London by King Edward I. therefore supposed never to be consecrated, nor put into the catalogue of bishops. In his room was substituted

Allen, of Galloway, who governed the church with great honour and integrity. He died the 15th of February, anno 1321, and lies at Rothersay, in Scotland. To him succeeded

Gilbert, of Galloway, who sat but two years and a half, and lies buried near his predecessor, in the church of Rothersay aforesaid. And after him

Bernard, a Scotchman, held the bishopric three years, and lies buried in the monastery of Kilwining, in Scotland. He was succeeded by

Thomas, a Scot, who sat bishop fourteen years: he was the first that exacted twenty shillings of his clergy by way of procuration, as likewise the tenths of all aliens. He died the 20th of September, 1348. The same year,

William Russel, Abbot of Rushen, was elected by the whole clergy of Man, in St. German's church, in Peel Castle. He was consecrated by Pope Clement VI. at Avignion, and was the first that shook off the yoke of the Archbishop of Drontheim, by whom his predecessors had for many ages been consecrated. He held a synod, anno 1350, in Kirk Michael, in which five articles were added to the former canons. He died the 21st of April, 1374, and was buried in the abbey of Furness. He was Abbot of Rushen eighteen years, and bishop twenty-six years. After him

John Duncan, a Manxman, was elected by the clergy of Man; and going to Avignion was confirmed by Pope Gregory XI. and consecrated *per Cardinalem Presiestium, dudum Archipiscopum.* In his return home he was

made prisoner at Bolonia, in Picardy, and lay in irons two years; and at last was forced to ransom himself for 500 marks; so that he was not installed till the year 1376, in which Mr. Jones's account determines he was succeeded (as Dr. Heylin in his Help to English History informs us) by

Robert Welby, anno 1396, who, it is believed, sat twenty-two years, and had for his successor

John Sperton, who is the first bishop mentioned in the Manx records. After him we find no bishop named till the year 1503, in which

Evan, or Huan, was elected by Sir Thomas Stanley, then governor, and afterwards lord; from whence may be observed the clergy's election of their bishops ceased, and became fixed in the house of Stanley, where it remained till the island being purchased by the government, the King of England is become perpetual nominator. This Evan was succeeded by

Hugh Hesketh, as appears by the roll of the family of Rufford, viz. Hugh Hesketh, third son to Robert, Esq. a reverend father in God, the Bishop of the Isle of Man; and *hic jacet Robertus Hesketh, Armiger, qui obit primo die Jan. A. D.* 1490. He was succeeded by

Robert Ferrier, who sat bishop anno 1554, says Sir Richard Baker. He was afterwards removed to St. David's, says Grafton, and was succeeded by

Henry Man, anno 1555, who died 1556, says Dr. Heylin, and was succeeded by

Bishop Salisbury, the year uncertain; whose successor was

Thomas Stanley, son to Sir Edward Stanley, first Lord Monteagle. How long he sat is uncertain, but it appears by record, John Merrick was sworn bishop of the isles, anno 1577. It was he who gave Mr. Cambden the history of the Isle of Man, published in his Britannia. He was succeeded by

George Lloyd, anno 1600, who was afterwards removed to Chester. He had for his successor

Bishop Foster, as Dr. Heylin in his Help to English History informs us. And was succeeded by

Dr. John Phillips, anno 1605, a native of North Wales, who was sworn bishop the same year. He translated the Common Prayer (at this time to be seen,) into the language of the natives; and, Mr. Challoner says, the Bible, though not now extant. A man famous in his generation for his great pains in preaching, his charity and hospitality, even to the meanest of the people. He was succeeded by

Dr. Richard Parr, anno 1635, a Lancashire man, sometime fellow of Brazennose College in Oxford; who whilst he continued in the university (says Mr. Challoner, of his own knowledge,) was an eminent preacher. He was the last who sat bishop before our late unhappy civil wars. Next to him

Samuel Rutter was sworn bishop, anno 1661. He had been archdeacon several years, and governed the church with great prudence during the then late wars. He was a man of exemplary goodness and moderation, and sat bishop till the year 1663. To him I am greatly obliged for his collections and memoirs made use of in my History of the noble House of Stanley, but especially in that ever-memorable Siege of Latham, the defence whereof he had a large share in. After him

Dr. Isaac Barrow was consecrated bishop, anno 1663, and sent over governor by Charles Earl of Derby. He was a man of a public spirit, and great designs for the good of the church; to whose industry is greatly owing all the learning amongst the clergy of Man, and to whose prudence and charity many of the poor clergy owe the bread they eat. This good man, to the great loss of the island, was removed to St. Asaph. He was succeeded by

Dr. Henry Bridgeman, anno 1671. After him

Dr. John Lake, anno 1682, afterwards removed to Bristol. Next to him

Dr. Baptist Levinz, anno 1684, who died 1693, and the see remained vacant five years, when, to the inexpressible benefit of the inhabitants of Man,

Dr. Thomas Wilson was promoted to the government of the church: but, as the life of this bishop is ultimately connected with the state of the island and its history during a period of sixty years, in which all the energy of his capacious mind, and all the virtues of his excellent heart, were devoted to benefit and improve his charge, I cannot pass him over, as I have done others, with a brief notice, believing no particulars of a life so exemplary can be uninteresting to my readers. I shall, therefore, make a large extract from the history of this apostolic divine, as it was published, under the authority of his son, in 1787.

Dr. Thomas Wilson was born at Burton, in Cheshire, September 20, 1663, and, as he himself says, in his diary, of honest parents, fearing God. After a preparatory education in his own country, he was sent to Trinity College, Dublin. His first design on entering at the University was, to devote himself to the study of physic, in which he made some progress; and even after having yielded to the advice of his friend, Archdeacon Hewetson, to dedicate his services to the church, he still continued to pursue, at intervals, the study he had originally set out with, which afterwards proved of essential service to the people of his diocese; and, what was of the utmost importance to Mr. Wilson himself, greatly extended his sphere of usefulness.

He continued at College till the year 1689, when he was ordained deacon; of which event, he, ever after, kept the anniversary, as a season of particular devotion. The exact time of his leaving Dublin is not known; but soon after his return to England, he was licensed curate of New Church, in the parish of Winwick, Lancashire, of which his maternal uncle, Dr. Sherlock, was rector; and here,

out of a stipend of £30. per annum, he devoted one-tenth to charitable uses. On the 20th of October, 1690, he was ordained priest, on which occasion he formed certain solemn resolutions, from which he never swerved throughout the course of his life.

The first, that no temptation should induce him to occupy two livings at one time.

2d. That whenever he should obtain a cure of souls, he would, on no account, dispense with constant residence on the scene of his duty.

3d. Never to give a bond of resignation, or to make any contract or promise, merely to obtain church preferment.

It was not long before his religious deportment and amiable manners in private life recommended him to the notice of the Earl of Derby, who, in 1692, appointed him his domestic chaplain and tutor to Lord Strange, with a salary of £30. per annum, to which was soon after added £20. more, for the superintendance of the alms-houses at Latham; on which occasion, he increased the sum set apart for the use of the poor, from one-tenth to one-fifth of his income.

The manner in which he made this dedication is worthy of record. On the receipt of all monies, he regularly placed the portion designed for charitable uses into the drawer of a cabinet, with a note of the value to be kept sacred for the poor; and in this sacred repository, first a tenth, then a fifth, then a third, and, at last, one half, of his revenues were placed: and whenever he deposited the poor man's portion, it was with the same reverence as if it had been an offering to heaven.

Mr. Wilson's resolutions, as before stated, being entered into, from a conviction of their propriety, were ever after considered as matter of religious obligation, from which no motive could induce him to depart; as he fully proved, when, soon after Lord Derby offered him the valuable living of Baddesworth, in Yorkshire, his lordship intending

that he should still continue with him as chaplain and tutor to his son; but he refused to accept it, being inconsistent with his resolves against non-residence.

The same regard to the dictates of conscience influenced his whole behaviour, and it was not long before he gave his noble patron a proof that no selfish motives could deter him from pursuing the path of duty, or restrain his zeal in a good cause. In consequence of an extravagant expenditure, and great inattention to his affairs, Lord Derby had become deeply involved, and the tradesmen about his estates were many of them most seriously injured by the state of his accounts. Mr. Wilson beholding with equal concern the ruin of his patron's property, and the distress of his dependants, determined to hazard a respectful remonstrance, which, however, he was fully sensible was a step replete with danger to his hopes of preferment; yet, being unable to dispense with what he considered to be his duty, he waited on his lordship in his dressing-room, and, after a short conversation, left with him a letter, which is remarkable for the simplicity, good sense, and integrity, it pourtrays.* The result of this unusual proceeding was equally honourable to the noble patron, and his upright dependant. The earl, convinced of his chaplain's probity, was aroused to a serious investigation of his affairs, in the arrangement of which he received his most willing assistance, and by the measures thenceforward adopted, Mr. Wilson was made the happy instrument by which the reputation and property of his patron were retrieved, and many of his tradesmen, by this timely arrangement, saved from bankruptcy.

Nor did his zeal and integrity miss of their reward; for, in the ensuing year, the earl offered him the bishopric of the Isle of Man, which had been vacant since the death of Dr. Levinz in the year 1693.

* See Appendix, No. I.

This offer, however, Mr. Wilson at first declined, believing the charge too great for his talents and strength, and thus the matter rested, till complaint being made to King William, that an incumbent had long been wanting for this diocese; and, in consequence, Lord Derby fearing the patronage would lapse to the crown, if an immediate nomination did not take place, he insisted on his chaplain accepting the preferment; and thus Mr. Wilson was, to use his own expression, *forced into the bishopric.* But however modest might be his estimate of his own abilities, it is certain, the history of human nature hardly presents an example where intellectual worth has been carried higher, or accompanied more completely, by the most admirable Christian virtues. The rules laid down for his self-government at his outset in life, were maintained with undeviating strictness; his considerations were not directed to what would make his sojournment on earth pleasant, but to what would render his transition to heaven certain; and to this great end all his labours for his own conduct, or the benefit of his fellow-creatures, were made to conduce.

To comprehend the nature of the sacrifice he made, when he became bishop of Man, one must take into consideration the state of the country to which he was *banished*, and contrast it with the society he renounced. On the one hand, he beheld a people depressed, and almost brutalized by poverty and neglect, with whose language he was unacquainted, and who were prepared to receive him with dislike and suspicion; and for this hopeless association, he had been compelled to resign the ease, elegance, and distinction, of a nobleman's mansion, where, from the lord to the lowest servant, all regarded him with respect and affection. Happily for Dr. Wilson, the first few years of his residence in the Isle of Man were cheered by the society of a woman, who seems to have been formed on the same model with himself, and to have participated in all his laborious acts of charity with equal interest and readi-

ness. The difficulty respecting the language was of no long existence, he was soon able to deliver his paternal exhortations in their own tongue; and by convincing his flock how much their real good was his sole object, he secured the affection and respect of the whole body, with the exception only of a very few whom interest or jealousy taught to oppose him.

When he first took possession of the see, he found the residence appropriated to him in ruins, the churches throughout the diocese in a falling state, the clergy sunk in ignorance and vice, the people not merely untaught and rustic, but greatly debased by the illicit trade then almost their sole pursuit, and which naturally led to a commerce with the worst characters of the adjacent countries; whilst the most extreme ignorance of religion, or even morality, pervaded all classes, or rather, the one great class; for, with the exception of the officers sent over by Lord Derby, to occupy the posts of government, the residue of the population were alike subject to the sudden influx of abundance, or as sudden depression of poverty.

The only sources of circulation were derived from fishing or smuggling, and the money thus acquired was almost invariably spent in intoxication, or vulgar dissipation, under the idea, that the same channels of gain were still open to them. It was to correct these fundamental errors, that Bishop Wilson strove to divert their attention to agricultural pursuits; and, as a first and most material step, in concert with the keys, he prevailed on Earl James, in the first year of his succession, to grant the act of settlement already mentioned. Whilst this question was under consideration, the bishop also occupied himself in restoring the dilapidated state of the revenues of the see, and rebuilding his house at Kirk Michael, as well as in repairing the churches, and renewing the discipline of the parochial schools. From the beginning he exacted his tithes, not with severity, but certainly with sufficient strictness;

and this unquestionably from a conscientious design to protect the dues of the church, and not to suffer that, which should be set apart for sacred purposes, to be diverted into other channels.

His house he enlarged, and rendered capable of receiving several young men, whom he educated under his own eye, and by his example, in order to have a succession of clergy, who might walk in the way he set before them; and thus he laid a solid foundation for the extension of knowledge, and practice of piety, in the next generation. In repairing the parish churches, he always set the example of a large subscription from his own purse, and exerted his influence where he knew there was ability in others, so as to obtain his end without exactions from the necessitous; nor were his exertions confined to these public acts: by frequent visits, he acquired a patriarchal influence in nearly every family in his diocese, and acquainted himself with the character and circumstances of each individual, to whom he administered aid, counsel, or reproof, as the case demanded; and so tempered his wisdom or severity with kindness and condescension, that he was soon regarded as a ministering angel, and his presence believed to produce a blessing wherever he came. His charity was unwearied; at his door the indigent were sure of relief, for he scrupulously observed the Scripture precept, 'never to turn his face from any poor man,' so that it was said of him, 'he kept beggars from every house but his own.' For a long time there was no medical man in the island, and he was in the constant habit of giving advice and medicines to the sick of all ranks; but when, at length, some persons in that line established themselves there, he willingly relinquished to them the care of the wealthy, but still afforded his aid to those who had nothing but prayers and blessings to give in return.

Soon after his accession to the bishopric, Dr. Wilson was united to Mary, the daughter of Thomas Patten, Esq.

of Warrington, and in the year 1699, she accompanied him to the island. This most amiable woman was, in every respect, the companion best fitted for him, pious, humble, and charitable as himself. By her he had four children, only one of whom (a son) arrived at maturity. The period of his connubial happiness was very short; Mrs. Wilson, at the end of five years, fell into a languishing complaint, in which she lingered nearly twelve months, and then resigned her pure spirit to her Maker.

This afflictive trial was borne as Bishop Wilson bore all the dispensations of Providence. Situated as he was, a greater bereavement can hardly be conceived! he had lost the only one who could participate both in his pleasures and his troubles, and his loss was irremediable; but, notwithstanding his keen sense of the affliction, he knew how to bless the hand that chastised him: he felt like a man, but 'not like one without hope.' His prayers during her sickness, and on her death, are amongst the finest examples of devout resignation; and in his meditations he drew such a character of the deceased, as, while it must have aggravated his regret, was yet calculated to elevate his hopes.*

The annual return of his episcopal revenues in money did not exceed £300. Some necessary articles, and some particular objects of charity, could only be purchased or relieved in specie; but the poor of the island were fed and clothed, and the house, in general, supplied from his domains. Those who could weave and spin, found at Bishop's court the best market for their commodities, where they bartered the produce of their industry for corn.

Tailors and shoemakers were kept constantly at work in the house, to make into garments the cloth or leather† which his corn purchased; and these were distributed as

* See Appendix, No. 2.

† The Manx then generally wore a shoe of untanned leather, laced on the foot, called *Caresns*.

gifts, or at low prices, according to the measure of their wants, to all who applied for them. He considered himself as the steward, not proprietor, of the revenues of his see, being resolved, from his first accession, not to heap up wealth for his children from a source, which the strictness of his religious principles led him to believe ought not so to be appropriated.* He kept a register of all the poor in his diocese, in which he entered the names and circumstances of his pensioners, and this he called 'Matricula Pauperum.'

During fifty-eight years of his pastoral life, he never, unless visited by sickness, omitted to perform some part of the church duty on every Sabbath day. In the year 1703, he framed those ecclesiastical constitutions, of which it was said by Lord Chancellor King, that 'if the ancient discipline of the church was lost elsewhere, it might be found in all its purity in the Isle of Man.' In September, 1708, he consecrated the chapel at Douglas, to which he had been a principal contributor. In 1709, the library at Castletown was finished, derived almost wholly from the same source. In 1711, he went to London, to settle some excise business relating to the lord and people of the island, when he was greatly distinguished by Queen Anne, who offered him an English bishopric, which he declined, because, as he said, he 'felt that, with the blessing of God, he could do some good in the little spot where he then resided, whereas, should he be removed to a large sphere, he might be lost, and forget his duty to God, and to his flock.'

His paternal care of this favoured people appears in the various annual exhortations delivered by him to the clergy, in which it was his custom to comment upon the events of the past year, to admonish the negligent, and encourage the diligent; he insisted strenuously on the duties of visiting and catechising the uninformed, and furnished each

* See his Address on this subject to his Children, in the Appendix, No. 8.

parish with books of instruction and devotion; but, above all things, required from his clergy the most scrupulous regard to their own character and conduct, as the only means of giving efficacy to their doctrine.

Nothing could more strongly evince his anxiety on these subjects than the prayers composed by him for the use of all the churches in his diocese, when certain persons lay under sentence of death for violations of the laws. He treated these events as national calamities, and employed his utmost exertions to render the examples thus necessarily made, of public utility to warn and awaken his whole flock. His own deep concern on these occasions must have been to the last degree impressive, and could not have failed to operate forcibly on the minds of the people.

So also on occasions of scarcity, which frequently occurred in those times, he evermore led the sufferers to God. He taught them to endure with patience whilst the chastisement lasted, and when the trial was at an end, he joined them in such fervent thanks as created in his hearers a perpetual sense of the superintendence of providence, and rendered even want and deprivation eventual blessings.

Those who have not lived as I have done on the scene of Bishop Wilson's apostolical exertions, who have not heard his praises, after the lapse of a whole century, still the theme of every tongue, and seen the still unfaded monuments of his benevolence, may be inclined to think these praises are exaggerated; but I may safely appeal to the inhabitants of the Isle of Man, to say, whether I have not curtailed and omitted numberless instances of his piety and charity.

It is with infinite pain that I have now to change the scene, and from exhibiting the man of God in the delightful performance of his duty, followed by the praises and love of his people, and secure in the respect of all ranks; to describe him as persecuted, insulted, and even *imprisoned*. Whether his extraordinary piety, combined with

his deserved popularity, had excited the jealousy of his contemporaries in office, cannot now be known; but it seems more than probable some such predisposing cause must have existed, as the alleged ground of quarrel between him and Governor Horn appears so trifling, that it is hardly possible to believe it should have been suffered to disturb the peace of a man, whose exemplary character had at that time secured him the applause of persons of the first distinction in all parts of Europe.

A story is current in the island, which offers a kind of solution to these difficulties, but being unnoticed by the historian of Dr. Wilson, or any other writer since his time, I can neither venture to insert as an unquestionable fact, nor can I wholly pass over what is universally believed, where every particular relative to the bishop is preserved with religious care.

It is said (and in this particular the author of his life concurs) that when he took possession of the see of Man, he found the revenues in a state of dilapidation; the tithes in particular had been suffered to lapse from the neglect of former incumbents: and a practice had crept in of wholly reserving the estates of the principal civil officers from this species of taxation; which exemptions, founded only on custom, were termed prescriptive rights, and at length came to be set up as indefeasible. The first efforts of the bishop for the improvement of the impoverished revenues of his church, were directed against these powerful opponents.

In the prosecution of this matter, much animosity was engendered on both sides; and there are some documents extant which certainly bear out the relation. That a man of the bishop's upright and independent spirit should have set himself to abrogate claims merely founded in power on one side, and admitted from weakness on the other, is very highly probable; that he should also have gone resolutely to the source of the evil, is consistent with his whole

course of acting and living; but that he should have conducted this matter with the asperity sometimes ascribed to him, I find it difficult to believe. According to the ecclesiastical laws of the island, a process may be commenced in the bishop's court, which does not even require a hearing on both sides, or a notice to the defendant; and on an exparte statement, an order *may* pass against a person complained of, which if not implicitly obeyed, subjects them to imprisonment during the pleasure of the court, or till an appeal is accepted to the metropolitan. And it is said, that under authority of this law, (certainly existing, but not often acted upon,) Bishop Wilson, in consequence of the resistance of the then Clerk of the Rolls to the payment of his tythe, issued his precept, and committed him close prisoner to the dungeon at Kirk Germain. In confirmation of this statement, a petition appears on record from the Clerk of the Rolls, complaining of such treatment, and praying to be heard in person against the demand; to which petition the answer, signed by the bishop's own hand, is, *that such hearing was not customary, nor would be granted.*

In what manner this affair ended I have not been able to ascertain; but as most of these prescriptive rights were annihilated, in all probability the bishop obtained a victory, as in justice and reason he ought to have done: for the iniquity of assessing the poor and exempting the rich must be obvious to all.

In the present times, when the indefeasible rights of man are so well established, perhaps we may wish that what it was perfectly just and proper to do, had been done with more regard to those rights. We are naturally shocked at the idea of claims, however well founded, being arbitrarily established; and, perhaps, we must also admit, that if there was a blemish in the character of Bishop Wilson, (and what human creature is without one,) it consisted in an attachment, approaching to bigotry, to the

canons of the church. In exacting conformity to ecclesiastical laws, he followed both the spirit and the letter. It was enough that the church had decreed a point to render even debate on the subject a sacrilege in his eyes. He shrunk with horror from every question that might by possibility disturb the faith either of himself, or his flock: in his dread of the incursions of infidelity, he even excluded discussion.

It is well known that he suspended a clergyman in the island, for hazarding a doubt, in one of his discourses, whether the power of granting absolution for sin had really devolved from the apostles to their successors in the ministry.

But after all, these mistakes, if such they were, sprung from a mind zealously devoted to the cause of genuine religion. Dr. Wilson had settled his belief on conviction, as his whole course of acting through a long life evidently proved. He knew the consequences of agitating doubt in ignorant minds, such as he had to govern: he saw that to give efficacy to his doctrine, he must follow the example of his Saviour, and "teach as one having authority;" and according to the character of the times in which he lived, he could admit of no compromise. Controversy was not then, as now, under the control of moderation, or even good manners; it was a species of warfare, in the prosecution of which, all means, whether of insult or injury, were considered as lawful weapons; and such in all probability had been the conduct of his opponents in the difference arising on the subject of tythes. In the lapse of time all that is not upon record is lost, and we see only a severe infliction, without knowing any of the aggravation that led to it, or the circumstances which might make it necessary. One thing, however, is obvious, that had the bishop exceeded his authority, the means of obtaining redress against him were open and easy, and that this was never attempted. The use he made of the improved revenues of

his see are also a proof, written in unfading characters, of the disinterested purity of his motives; and at any rate the course of retaliation adopted against him, if such it was, was wholly unjustifiable, as being founded neither in law or equity; besides which, the number of years that had elapsed from the time when Dr. Wilson established these offensive claims, and the changes which had taken place in the governing power, leads one to doubt whether the extraordinary persecution he afterwards underwent could have originated in this source.

The history of this affair, as it may be gathered from his life, is as follows: In 1719, Mrs. Horn, the wife of the governor, having some quarrel with one Mrs. Puller, she carried her resentment so far as to charge her opponent with a criminal intimacy with one Sir James Poole, then also resident in Castletown; and had so much influence with the Archdeacon Horrobin as to prevail on him to refuse the sacrament to the supposed offender, on account of this accusation. Mrs. Puller, mortified and exasperated by this public disgrace, had recourse to the mode pointed out by the ecclesiastical constitutions to establish her innocence, namely, by oath; which she and Sir James Poole tendered before the bishop, with compurgators of the best character: and no evidence being produced by their accusers to establish the charge, though repeatedly called on to this purpose, they were in consequence cleared of the imputation, and sentence passed against Mrs. Horn, as inventor of the calumny, for which she was required to ask pardon of those she had traduced: but, far from complying with this moderate requisition, the governor's lady peremptorily refused obedience, and openly expressed the utmost contempt both for the bishop and the censures of the church. For this indecent disrespect to the laws, which her elevated situation rendered the more offensive, she was in her turn banished from the altar, till atonement should be made. Notwithstanding which, the archdeacon, out of

pique to the bishop, or for some other unworthy motive, received her to the communion.

An insult to himself the bishop would have had no difficulty to forgive, but disobedience to the church he could not consistently overlook; and after some further discussion, he was compelled to suspend the archdeacon; who in a rage, instead of referring the matter to the Archbishop of York, the proper judge in ecclesiastical affairs, threw himself on the civil power, where he was assured of support in his contumacy.

In the interim, the bishop had appointed the Rev. Mr. Ross to officiate in the chapel at Castletown, during the archdeacon's suspension; but the governor refused to deliver the keys to him, and kept the chapel shut up altogether. On which the bishop made a strong remonstrance at the Tynwald court against this entrenchment on the spiritual authority. This document, which is dated June 25, 1722, being addressed to the governor at the Tynwald,* was not noticed but at the conclusion of the meeting; and when nearly all the keys and most of the council had retired, Captain Horn, with those who remained, made an order, *in the name of the whole*, that the bishop should be fined £50, and his two vicars £20 each, for illegal and extra-judicial proceedings in suspending Archdeacon Horrobin. And on the 29th of the same month, on their refusal to pay the penalty, they were all three committed to Castle Rushen. The laws of the island must have been in a most indeterminate state, when such proceedings as these could be carried into effect, on a sentence actually disavowed by nearly all the persons pretended to be concurring in it, and of which no previous notice had been given to the defendants, to afford them an opportunity of rebutting the charges brought against them.

The concern of the people on this insult being offered to

* See Appendix, No. 4.

their beloved pastor, amounted to agony. They assembled in crowds round the prison walls, and it was with infinite difficulty they were prevented levelling the governor's house with the ground; nor was it preserved at last but by the exhortations of the bishop, who being permitted to address them through a window of his prison, entreated their forbearance and submission, telling them he would "appeal unto Cæsar," (meaning the king,) "and had no doubt he would vindicate his cause, if he had acted right." But though he restrained them by his influence from open violence, nothing could allay their anxiety. All business throughout the island was at a stand, one sole object attracted the attention of the whole community, and nothing but personal and almost daily conviction of his safety, could satisfy the individual apprehensions of his flock, who resorted from all parts in hundreds to the walls of the castle; nor would they depart without his benediction and counsel.*

With what sensations governor Hern must have beheld these scenes of public distress and gratitude, it is not difficult to conceive; but it is wonderful that it should have produced no effect on his conduct; for so far was he from relaxing any part of the persecution to which he had subjected these divines, that he actually detained them two months; and during that time dictated every possible aggravation of their sufferings, refusing admittance either to friends or servants, and treating them in all respects as persons confined for high treason.

The case meanwhile was fully stated by the bishop in a petition to the king in council, which was, however, dismissed on the ground of informality, inasmuch as it should have been addressed to the Earl of Derby; but it was recommended by the law officers of the crown, that the

* The bishop afterwards declared, that he never governed his diocese so well, or instructed his people with such effect as from the walls of his prison.

bishop and vicars should deposit the fines as a means of procuring their release, under an assurance that such compliance should not prejudice their appeal. Accordingly they did pay down the money; and being then set at liberty, they immediately repaired to England to prosecute the affair before the proper tribunal.

In a subsequent petition, the bishop states that his reasons for not appealing to the lord of the isle, in the first place, were, that as the prosecution against him was conducted by the earl's attorney, he did suppose it was with his lordship's concurrence, more especially as the fines, if legally assessed, would have belonged to his lordship also.

That the bishop judged right in believing the matter was to a certain extent countenanced by the earl, is rendered evident by what followed; and the only justification, or rather apology, to be offered is, that Lord Derby must have been deceived by misrepresentations, which, however, ought not for a moment to have counterbalanced the high and well established reputation of the bishop. However, on finding it necessary to carry his appeal through this channel, the bishop and his vicars went into Lancashire, and repeatedly presented themselves at the mansion of the earl, who, nevertheless, refused them all access to his person, nor would he even examine into the nature of their complaint; but after keeping them in attendance from August to November, he at last peremptorily refused to accept the appeal on any terms. On which they were obliged to resort to London, and offer a third petition to the king.

The Attorney General then gave a regular notice to Lord Derby of the proceedings, and demanded from him if he had any knowledge of the affair, or any thing to object against the appeals being entertained. To which his lordship returned an answer in substance as follows:

"That not having had any previous intimation of the proceedings from any of the constituted authorities in the

Isle of Man, he could give no answer as to the complaint; but that he believed the persons complained of to be honest and well-meaning men; and had no doubt the matter in the bishop's petition was misrepresented."

The result of this iniquitous business, after two years' prosecution, attended with heavy expenses and much personal vexation, was, that the whole proceedings were declared to be illegal, and the fines were in course reversed; but for recovery of damages against the governor and officers, or even of costs of suit, no provision was made: but these matters were to be referred to a fresh suit at law, to which the bishop had no inclination to resort. All personal offences or losses he could easily forgive and overlook; his sole object had been to establish the discipline of the church, and having succeeded in that, he had no further resentment to gratify. The suspension of Archdeacon Horrobin was taken off by him after proper submission; but whether Mrs. Horn submitted to the terms enjoined, I have never been able to discover. I conclude, however, that the bishop would not relinquish a point of such importance to the established discipline of the church.

One cannot contemplate the issue of this extraordinary proceeding without sensations of regret, that the principal actors in it should have escaped without due punishment. Nor can I help reverting to the case of Captain Christian, wherein a course so decidedly different was pursued by the court of England. In his affair an irregular appeal was received in the first instance, though offered by a person* having no personal interest in the prosecution; and on that petition a reprieve was granted. In a subsequent stage, the judges who had passed an illegal sentence were *fined* and *imprisoned*, and full restitution made, with all *costs* and *charges* to the heirs of the sufferer. But here, in an

* The deemster Christian, who had fled to England to avoid being a party in the judgment.

instance of admitted injustice and tyranny, exercised on a man rendered sacred both by his function and the virtues of a long unblemished life, the court declares itself unequal to the task of redressing his grievances, beyond the reversal of a paltry fine, and leave all the rest as they found it, with hardly a slight reprimand to the offenders. In considering this outrage, a natural comparison arises between the times when such misconduct could be so passed over, and the present, when notwithstanding the violent cry raised against existing defects in the government and breaches of the constitution, I think no one will deny, that if such a scene was enacted in one of our remotest dependencies, and on the person of the most obscure individual, it would raise a clamour which nothing but the fullest redress to the injured, and punishment of the delinquents, could pacify or allay.

Bishop Wilson felt the consequences of the rigours he had undergone during the remainder of his life, having contracted a rheumatic disease from the dampness of the prison, which disabled the fingers of his right hand. The expenses also fell very heavy on him, being in the whole more than £500; of which he received £300 in a subscription, set on foot without his knowledge, to assist in carrying on the cause.

In the year 1739, the clergy of the island were thrown into great trouble by the death of the Earl of Derby, who leaving no issue, the lordship of Man devolved to the Duke of Athol; and by this event they were nearly deprived of their subsistence. Their livings consisting of one third of the impropriations, which had been purchased from a former earl, in the episcopate of Dr. Barrow; an estate belonging to the Derby family in Lancashire having been collaterally bound as security for the payment of the annual returns. On the separation of the island from the earldom, the Duke of Athol claimed the impropriations as an inseparable appendage to his estate and royalty. The

deed of conveyance was unfortunately missing from the records, nor could any title be made out either to the original purchase or the collateral security.

Under this alarm the clergy would have taken a very small sum in lieu of their claims; and the bishop mentions in a letter to his son, how much they were troubled to find proper persons to serve in the ministry; people being entirely discouraged from bringing up their sons to the church. But at length, by the unceasing industry and perseverance of the diocesan and his son, the original deeds were discovered to have been lodged in the Rolls Chapel, London; and being immediately exemplified under the great seal of England, the security of the impropriations was established to the great relief of the parties concerned.

In 1740, a severe scarcity occurred in the island, where in fact the corn raised being always far short of the consumption, whenever (as it happened at that time) an embargo was laid on the English ports, great necessity was sure to ensue. The bishop distributed his own grain as far as it would go, and bought up an additional quantity at a high price, to sell out at a reduced one, but all his efforts were inadequate to relieve the pressure of distress. To increase the calamity, an epidemic disease broke out, and as he was the *only physician* in the island, his bodily fatigues must have been incessant. In this deplorable state, a petition* was preferred to the king in council, by the bishop's son, (who was chaplain to George II.), that the embargo might be taken off to a certain extent: a supply of corn was, at length, obtained just in time to save the whole people from starvation. The Duke of Athol also exerted himself for their relief, and received due acknowledgment from the keys on the occasion.

In 1743, the bishop wrote a letter of thanks to his

* See Appendix, No. 5.

majesty personally, for the distinguished honour he had conferred on his son, in making him a prebend of Westminster.* The bishop's apostolic character had, at this time, secured him the veneration of all ranks; and the most exalted personages in various parts of Europe bore testimony to his virtues. In the Isle of Man, the people were so strongly persuaded that a larger portion of the blessings of heaven attended on him, that they never began their harvest till he did, hoping to participate, through him, in these advantages: and if by chance he passed near any field where they were at work, their labours were suspended for a moment, whilst they asked his benediction; and then renewed, under an increased conviction, that for one day, at least, they would be prosperous.†

At the advanced age of eighty, he gives the following account of his daily labours in a letter to his son.

"I bless God I am pretty well. I preached on Palm Sunday; administered the sacrament on Easter Eve; preached and administered the sacrament on Easter Day at Peel; the next Sunday at Kirk Michael; and last Sunday at Jurby, when I performed the whole service."

In 1744, he purchased some land, which he added to the living of Jurby. In 1755, his solicitations, added to those of his son, obtained a renewal of the royal bounty to the clergy, which had been suspended for several years.

He continued to ride on horseback till the year 1749. In 1751, he wrote a letter to the new governor, in which he apologized for his neglect of personal attendance, under

* See Appendix, No. 6, for the letter to the king, and also one to his son, on the same occasion.

† The same reverential regard obtained even in the great city of London, where, during his last visit, crowds would flock around him, with the cry of "Bless me, too, my lord."

the plea of his *great age*: indeed, the scene of his earthly existence was now drawing to a close; and with what delight he must have contemplated the prospect of transmission from time to eternity, may be partly conceived, when we review the events of a life uniformly devoted to the service of God, and the good of his fellow-creatures. The immediate cause of his death was a cold, caught in walking in his garden in very damp weather. His end was easy and tranquil; it was like his life, devoted to prayer and praise, till he fell asleep to wake in heaven.

Words are inadequate to paint the anguish of his flock, when thus deprived of their beloved pastor. He was attended to his grave by the whole population of the island, without a single exception, unless of those who, by age or sickness, were incapacitated. The tenants of his nearest demesnes were appointed to bear him to his last earthly home; but at every resting place a contest ensued amongst the most respectable persons present, and happy were they who could perform this last sad office for their friend and benefactor. He was interred in Kirk Michael churchyard, at the east end near the chancel, and over his grave a square tomb-stone was placed, surrounded by iron rails, on which is the following inscription:

On the sides,

"Sleeping in Jesus, here lieth the Body of THOMAS WILSON, D. D. Lord Bishop of this Isle, who died March 5, 1755, aged 93, and in the 58th year of his Consecration."

At the ends,

"This Monument was erected by his Son, THOMAS WILSON, a native of this Parish, who, in obedience to the express commands of his father, declines giving him the character he justly deserved."

"Let this Island speak the rest."

On the decease of Bishop Wilson, the patronage of the see being vested in the Duke of Athol, his grace paid a compliment to his memory, most honourable to himself. From a conscientious desire that the benefits effected by the late excellent incumbent should proceed under the auspices of his successor, he waved his right of nomination, and, disregarding the many claimants who were, no doubt, looking up in hopes of a prize, now rendered both valuable and honourable, he referred it to the bench of bishops, requesting them to point out a man worthy of wearing the mitre which Bishop Wilson had adorned.

In consequence of which request, Dr. Mark Hildesley was unanimously recommended by them, and appointed by his grace, being consecrated Bishop of Man, April 25, 1755. On coming to his diocese, his sentiments were thus expressed:

"I know it is sometimes said, that 'a person succeeds with disadvantage to an office which has been filled by a predecessor of remarkably eminent qualities.' I must take leave to think the reverse as nearer truth; at least, with respect to the instance I am about to refer to, namely, my coming after the great and good Dr. Wilson to this see of Man; forasmuch as I see many excellent things done and established to my hand, in regard to the government of the church, besides the example which, by the traces he has left, his lordship still lives to shew, and which I will endeavour, as far as I am able, to follow, though I am sensible it must be '*non passibus æquis*.'"

The first great work Dr. Hildesley sat himself to complete was, the translation of the Scriptures into Manx, begun by Dr. Wilson, who, at his own expence, had printed the Gospel of St. Matthew, and prepared the other Evangelists, and the Acts of the Apostles; and this, with the assistance of the clergy, he was happy enough to finish. It might, indeed, be truly said of this good man, that he had caught the mantle of the prophet as he ascended to

heaven, though he had but just completed the great work above-mentioned, when he was called to give an account of his stewardship, having often been heard to declare, that he only wished his existence might be protracted till the Scriptures were finished in the native language; and it is extremely remarkable, that he received the last part of the Bible from his publisher on Saturday, November 28, 1772, on which occasion he emphatically sung his *Nunc Dimittis* in the presence of his whole family; and next evening, after family prayers, he read a lecture on the uncertainty of human life, observing, that many people were in a moment deprived of their senses and existence; and thus, in a prophetic manner, foretelling his own decease, for, on the following Monday, he was seized with a stroke of the palsy, which deprived him of his perception. In this situation he lingered till that day week, when he died, and was buried according to his own directions, by the side of Bishop Wilson, that he might be united in death with that man whose example he had endeavoured to imitate whilst living.*

On the death of Dr. Hildesley, the Rev. Dr. Richmond obtained promotion to the Isle of Man. But on the period of his episcopacy I take no pleasure in expatiating; the unbending haughtiness of his disposition formed so decided a contrast to the characters of his predecessors, that he

* When Dr. Hildesley was at Scarborough, in 1764, the following lines were stuck up in the Spa room, which, being taken down by his sister, were found amongst his papers after his death, with these words written on them by the bishop: "From vain-glory in human applause, *Deus me liberet et conservet.*"

If to point folly till her friends despise,
And virtue till her foes would fain be wise;
If angel-sweetness, if a godlike mind,
That melts with Jesus over all mankind—
If this can form a bishop—and it can,
Though Isaac were wanting—Hildesley is the man.

excited a general sentiment of aversion in the minds of his people, which must have defeated the efficacy of his doctrines, however pure. He died, and was succeeded by

Dr. George Mason, who sat till the year 1785. The last part of his life was disgraced by a scene of necessity, and derangement of circumstances, utterly inconsistent with his station. In his hands were placed the funds subscribed towards building the church dedicated to St. George, on an elevation above Douglas; and by his insolvency and death, the persons employed in that erection were actually deprived of the sums due to them, to their great injury, and, in one or two instances, their complete ruin.

The last incumbent was, the Rev. Claudius Crigan, a man of simple and unostentatious manners; but, from the absence of all energy of mind or character, not very well calculated to sustain his dignity, or embellish his office. He sat twenty-eight years, and then resigned his life and his see, without exciting any considerable regret in the minds of his flock.

The present bishop is a gentleman of distinguished rank and polished manners; he is a son of the late highly respectable and Rev. Lord George Murray, bishop of St. David's. At the death of Dr. Crigan, the bishop elect being under the age at which, by the canons, he might assume the pall, the see was held unoccupied for twelve months.

The church of Man is governed under a bishop, by an archdeacon, two vicars general, and sixteen ministers; the militia under the governors, by three majors and eighteen captains of parishes; the towns by the four constables; and the civil constitution by two deemsters, six coroners, seventeen moars or bailiffs, with several inferior officers under them.

The Bishops of Man, besides their spiritual jurisdiction, are barons of this isle. In all trials for life they may assist

in the temporal court till the sentence. They hold courts in their own names for their temporalities. If any of their tenants are tried for life, they may demand them from the king's court, and try them by a jury of their own tenants; and in case of conviction, the lands they hold are forfeited to the bishop.

The arms of the bishopric are upon three ascents, the Virgin Mary standing with her arms extended between two pillars, on the dexter whereof is a church in base, the ancient arms of Man.

The archdeacon is the second spiritual magistrate. He has, in all inferior cases, alternate jurisdiction with the bishop; and many other privileges, as well in temporals as spirituals. He holds his courts either in person or by his official, as the bishop does his by his vicars-general, which are always two, one for each division of the isle, and are in the nature of chancellors to the bishop; these with the registers compose the consistory court, and have under their jurisdiction seventeen parishes.

There were formerly many chapels in the isle, and there are now in each town one standing, as also one in the centre of the land dedicated to St. John, near which, on a little hill, they hold their Tynwald court, or public assembly, at which their laws are promulged on every midsummer-day, as being raised with several ascents for the different orders of people, and is indeed a pretty curiosity.

But, above all, the abbeys seem to have exceeded the ability of the country, among which the abbey of St. Mary, of Rushen, was the chief. It consisted of twelve monks and an abbot, who at first were meanly endowed, and lived mostly by their labour, but in process of time they had good revenues. The buildings are very handsome, the rooms convenient, and the chapel larger than any thing (the cathedral excepted) in the island. It was called the daughter of Furness, which is said to be the mother of this and many other abbeys in the Isle of Man.

In the records thereof is found, that one John Fargher was Abbot of Rushen and deputy governor; and in a piece of timber in Kirk Arbory, which separates the church from the chancel, one Thomas Radcliffe was Abbot of Rushen.

These abbots were barons of the island, held courts for their temporalities in their own names, might demand a prisoner from the king's court, if their own tenant, and try him by a jury of their own tenants, as the steward of the abbey lands may do at this day.

The Prioress of Douglas was a baroness of the island, and enjoyed the same privilege. The priory was said to be built by St. Bridget, when she came to receive the veil of virginity from St. Maughold. The situation of the nunnery is much the pleasantest in the island.

There were likewise the friars minors of Beemaken, and a small plantation of the Cistertian order in Kirk Christ lez Ayre, but neither of these had baronies annexed to them.

There were likewise several foreign barons as before-mentioned; but few or none of them appear now, nor have any lands or tenants to represent.

Thus I have given my readers the history, constitution, and settlement of this little state in all its branches, civil, military, and ecclesiastic; with all the subordinate officers necessarily employed therein, by which the people in church and state are to be governed; with an historical account of their kings and bishops.

A CATALOGUE

OF THE

GOVERNORS OF THE ISLE OF MAN,

Since Sir John Stanley's time, till the year 1741,

WITH THE

NORTH AND SOUTH DIVISIONS.

JOHN Letherland, Lieut. A. D. 1417
John Fasakerley, Lieut. 1418
John Walton, Lieut. 1422
Henry Byron, Lieut. 1428
Note.—I find no record from this time, till the year 1492
Peter Dutton, Lieut. 1496
Henry Radcliff, Abbot of Rushen, Deputy . . 1497
Randolph Rushton, Capt. 1505
Sir John Ireland, Knight, Lieut. 1508
John Ireland, Lieut. 1516
Randolph Rushton, Capt. 1517
Thomas Danisport, Capt. 1519
Richard Holt, Lieut. 1526
John Fleming, Capt. 1529
Thomas Sherburn, Lieut. 1530
Henry Bradley, Deputy-Lieut. 1532
Henry Stanley, Capt. 1533
George Stanley, Capt. 1535
Thomas Stanley, Knt. Lieut. 1537
George Stanley, Capt. 1539

Thomas Tyldsley, Deputy 1540
William Stanley, Deputy 1544
Henry Stanley, Capt. 1552
Thomas Stanley, Knt. Lieut. 1562
Richard Ashton, Capt. 1566
Thomas Stanley, Knt. Lieut. 1567
Edward Tarbock, Capt. 1569
John Hanmer, Capt. 1575
Richard Sherburn, Capt. 1580
Cuth. Gerrard, Capt. 1592
Thomas Martinier, Deputy 1592

Note.—1591, Richard Aderton was admitted and sworn lieutenant under the captain, by my lord's directions, for all martial affairs.

The Hon. William Stanley, Capt. afterwards Earl of Derby 1593
Randolph Stanley, Capt. 1594
Sir Thomas Gerrard, Knt. Capt. 1596
Cuth. Gerrard, Deputy 1596
Thomas Gerrard, Knt. Capt. 1597
Robert Molyneux, Deputy 1597
Cuth. Gerrard, Capt. 1599
Robert Molyneux, Deputy 1599
Robert Molyneux, Capt. 1600
John Ireland and John Birchal, Governors, jointly by patent from the king. 1609
John Ireland, Lieut. and Capt. 1610
Robert Molyneux, Capt. 1611
Edward Fletcher, Deputy 1621
Edward Fletcher, Governor 1622
Sir Ferdinand Liege, Knt. and Capt. 1623
Edward Fletcher, Deputy 1625
Edward Holmewood, Capt. 1626
Edward Fletcher, Deputy 1627
Edward Christian, Lieut. and Capt. 1629
Evan Christian, Deputy 1634

Sir Charles Gerrard, Knt. Capt. 1635
John Sharpless, Deputy 1636
Radcliff Gerrard, Capt. 1639
John Greenhalgh, Governor 1640
Sir Philip Musgrave, Knt. and Bart. . . . 1651
Samuel Smith, Deputy Governor 1652

Note.—That my Lord Fairfax made commissioners for the governing of the isle this year, viz. James Challoner, Robert Dinely, Esq. Jonathan Witton, Clerk.

Matthew Cadwell, Governor 1653
William Christian, Governor 1656
James Challoner, Governor 1658

AFTER THE RESTORATION OF THE KING.

Roger Nowell, Governor A. D. 1660
Richard Stevenson, his Deputy 1660
Henry Nowell, Deputy for one part of the year, and Thomas Stanley for the other part . . . 1663
Bishop Barrow, Governor 1664
Henry Nowell, his Deputy 1664
Henry Nowell, Governor 1669
Henry Stanley, Governor 1677
Robert Heywood, Governor 1678
Roger Kenyon, Esq. Governor 1691
Colonel Sankey, Governor.
The Hon. Capt. Cranston, Governor.
Robert Maudesley, Esq. Governor
Capt. Alexander Horn, Governor.
Major Floyd, Governor.
Thomas Horton, Esq. Governor.
The Hon. James Murray, Esq. Governor . . 1741

THE NORTH DIVISION.

Kirk Patrick, Kirk German, } Dedicated to those saints.
Kirk Michael.
St. Mary of Ballaugh, a Parsonage.
St. Patrick Jurby.
Kirk Andrew's, the Archdeaconry.
Kirk Bride, dedicated to St. Bridget, a Parsonage.
Kirk Christ Lez-Ayre.

THE SOUTH DIVISION.

Kirk Maughold, dedicated to St. Maughold the third bishop.
Kirk Lonan, dedicated to Lomanus, said by the tradition to succeed St. Maughold in the bishopric, the son of Tygrida, one of the three holy sisters of St. Patrick, and thought to be the first Bishop of Trym in Ireland.
Kirk Conchan, dedicated to Concha, sister to St. Martin, Bishop of Tours, and mother to St. Patrick.
Kirk Braddan, which signifies a Salmon in the Manx language.
Kirk Marrown, dedicated to that saint.
Kirk St. Anne.
Kirk Malew, dedicated to St. Lupus.
Kirk Arbory, dedicated to St. Columbus.
Kirk Christ, Rushen.

Review of the State of the Island under the dominion of the House of Stanley—Excessive Alarm excited by the revestment in Great Britain—the revival of Prosperity and general amelioration of Character and Manners resulting from a better order of things—Prejudice against the Duke of Athol, whence it originates, and how maintained.

HAVING brought the history of the island down to the time when it underwent its last great change, I shall endeavour to give a summary view of the condition in which the Manx people stood, when the power of the house of Stanley was extinguished.

As I have before observed, the population had been essentially reduced by the Scottish usurpation, and the inhabitants were levelled to a class of mere peasants, who, at the time the Stanleys came into possession, were too poor to emigrate, and too ignorant to effect their own improvement. Their new lords, therefore, claimed an indefeasible right in the whole landed property, and appear to have considered the people in much the same point of view, that a Russian noble regards the vassals on his estates, as creatures existing only to cultivate lands for his benefit, in which they had, individually, neither right or interest. In this state of humiliation, the Manx remained with little variation for three centuries, employing themselves in fishing during the short season the herrings were on the coast, and for the rest of the year devoted to complete idleness, except the trifling garrison duty exacted from each, whilst the women performed the task of cultivating just so much land as, on the closest calculation, would supply the wants of the family, and pay the lord's rent. They dwelt in mud

huts, without doors or windows, merely serving the single purpose of defending them from the inclemencies of the weather. There was at this time an essential difference between the Manx and the Scottish Clans, inhabiting the out-isles, formerly associated under the same government, and, probably, then actuated by the same habits and manners.

In those isolated spots, though the land belonged altogether to one chief, yet were his interests so bound up by participation and relationship with those of his dependents, that his superiority seemed to be reflected back, and to give to the whole community an elevation proportioned to his own. On the contrary, the Lord of Man, for many ages, came amongst his people, but to coerce their persons, or to subtract from their little gains: in comparison to him, they were a distinct and inferior race of beings, who could only gaze on him in his elevated sphere, as a meteor or a comet, likely to endanger or alarm, but without a promise of advantage to mark his track. So circumstanced, they had quietly taken the evil with the good, neither stimulated by comparison, nor encouraged by hope, till about twenty years before Bishop Wilson's time, when a new channel was opened by a band of adventurers who came from Liverpool, and settled themselves in Douglas, for the avowed purpose of carrying on an illicit trade; and by the advantages they held out, they soon induced ships to and from the East and West Indies, as well as those engaged in the Guinea trade, to touch at the island, where they found a ready market for part of their cargoes, which were afterwards conveyed in Manx vessels (and by those means eluding the custom dues) into other countries, as well as Great Britain and Ireland.

The profits attending this nefarious traffic were soon perceived to be so large, that the natives, awakened from their stupor, resolved to participate with the strangers. The lord of the isle also, deriving advantage from certain

small duties paid to him, was little concerned to suppress it; and the people, already trained up to the sea, and inured to hardship, were well calculated to encounter the dangers of such an employ. But, in a pursuit of this kind, it is obvious the morals of the nation must be put to extreme hazard: it was impossible a commerce, founded on trick and fraud, could be prosecuted, without an entire surrender of principle; and the conviction that such was the case, gave to the good Bishop Wilson, as may be easily imagined, the most lively concern. In a letter to his son, dated in 1742, he says,

"Our people are mightily intent upon enlarging the harbours at Peel, Ramsay, and Douglas; but the iniquitous trade carried on, to the injury and damage of the crown, will hinder the blessing of God from falling upon us."

He earnestly strove to divert their awakened activity into another channel; but, in this particular, all his influence could impose no restraint. The gains and profits were obvious and present; the injury done to a government whose relationship they scarcely admitted was founded upon abstract principles, which they had a difficulty, as well as disinclination, to comprehend; and it became evident, that only the strong arm of power could extirpate this nest of plunderers. On this ground, the revestment of the island in the crown of Great Britain was proposed, and carried into effect, as we have related, greatly against the wishes of its former possessors; and yet their reluctance bore no comparison to that with which the change was regarded by the natives. This feeling was also considerably aggravated by the secrecy observed on the part of the Duke of Athol or his officers, in relation to the treaty whilst pending. It appears by evidence given in before the English commissioners in 1792, that the first news of this intended sale was only a slight rumour, which reached the island in January, 1785; in consequence whereof, a requisition was made to the governor to con-

vene the keys, with which he did not comply; that, in the month of March following, the proceedings in Parliament becoming a matter of notoriety, and when, in fact, the consent of the duke and dutchess had been given to the transfer, a second petition was presented for assembling the legislature of the island, which was at length granted; and, in consequence of this meeting, two gentlemen* were deputed by the keys to attend Parliament on behalf of the Manx, accompanied by a merchant as agent for commercial affairs.

To have thus transferred a nation and its inhabitants, without the compliment of informing them of the change about to take place, appears a stretch of arbitrary power hardly reconcileable with our ideas of civil liberty. It is true, that when complaint of this disregard to their claims and feelings was made to the duke, he expressed some surprise, and declared he *had given* direction to one of his officers to make the matter known in the island, whilst it was yet undetermined. This officer, when applied to, alleged his obedience to the order; but, on further investigation, it came out, that he had only acquainted the governor, and between these two gentlemen the secret had rested till the whole was effected, and remonstrance had become equally vain and useless.

Soon after this event, an act passed both houses of Parliament, not merely calculated to root out the illicit trade, but imposing such severe restrictions on the regular commerce of the island, that the people, previously alarmed and agitated, were now driven to such despair, that they believed their ruin to be complete; insular property sunk to the lowest state of depreciation, and nearly all who had the means of removal, began to entertain the idea of emigration, when, as a last effort, three other commissioners were dispatched to England, to represent the miserable

* Mr. Moore and Mr. Cosnahan.

condition of the inhabitants, and endeavour to obtain some redress of their grievances.

Happily, this last remonstrance was attended with success; some clauses of unnecessary severity in the act complained of were repealed, and certain encouragements held out to the fair trader, which opened a brighter prospect, and effectually relieved the public mind. From this time, the character and situation of the Manx have been gradually improving; the advantages of being governed by a great nation, instead of a petty lord, is universally felt. Those who had already accumulated large gains from the contraband trade, were, by the change, obliged either to sit down upon the lands they had acquired, and turn their thoughts to agriculture, or to embark their capital in regular commerce. Very few sunk back into the state of apathy formerly indulged. Industry, though ill-directed, had been awakened; some luxuries, too, had crept in, which, though not always beneficial to individual character, are still, up to a certain height, universally productive of national advantage.

But whatever pursuits were superinduced, the herring fishery, supported by ancient habits and early association, was regarded as the chief good; and to this pursuit, requiring neither talent nor labour, the mass of the peasantry still confined their hopes and exertions; on which account, agriculture, with its moderate returns and permanent advantages, was yet almost entirely neglected.

The Duke of Athol, in making a sale of the island, had reserved all his feudal rights as lord of the soil, with certain other profits coming under the same description. But the enmity excited in the minds of his late subjects was too active a principle not to produce continual resistance against these claims, which, no longer backed by sovereign power, were met by every species of opposition; so that it became necessary in 1790, to resort to Parliament to establish his mutilated rights, which was accord-

ingly done by the duke, who further complained, that the sum given to his ancestor was greatly beneath the value of the revenue ceded to the crown. His petition, therefore, went to obtain an additional compensation, and also to establish those manorial rights, which, being unnecessary to the purposes for which the revestment was made, were never intended to be disturbed.

On this petition much contention ensued; the general feeling was averse to the first article; the keys petitioned against that clause which affected the insular rights; and, at length, after severe debate, the bill was thrown out.

The duke being thus left even in a worse situation than before, renewed his attempt in 1791, when a case was presented to the privy council, containing such strong allegations, that commissioners were appointed to visit the island, and make a thorough investigation, both as to the particulars in dispute, and also into the general state of the revenues, produce, and trade.

The result of this inquiry proved, that great part of the duke's complaint was well founded; that the sum of £70,000 given for the cession had been calculated on a revenue ill-managed and unfairly collected; consequently falling much short of what, under a better system, it might have produced; and that, in other respects, the property meant to have been reserved to the noble complainant was unnecessarily crippled.

In consequence of this report, a fresh bill was offered in 1805, on which the former contentions were renewed in both houses. Many members asserted, that the duke had received full compensation for the Isle of Man in its then state; and that if, by the fostering care of the British government the revenue had been increased, it was no reason why the late possessor should call for farther remuneration. It was asserted, that the last Earl of Derby had farmed his own receipts to a merchant of Liverpool for £1000 per annum. And it was observed, that if such a

precedent was set up, with equal justice might any man, who had neglected his estate and sold it for a depreciated value, demand an additional compensation of the next possessor, when he should, by his industry or skill, have improved and restored the dilapidated property.

On the other hand, the friends of the duke maintained, that the loss sustained by him and his family, might, at a moderate computation, be estimated at £620,000; a sum so enormous as to excite the ridicule of opposition. But at length, *being supported by ministry*, the affair was decided, the manorial rights clearly ascertained and established, and an additional sum of £3000 per annum out of the consolidated fund bestowed on the duke and his heirs for ever.

This success renewed the ancient grudge of the people against the Athol family. In the year 1793, the duke had accepted the post of governor of the island, an office, as it appears to me, much below his rank, and which, by constantly keeping alive the recollection of his former supremacy, ought to have been painful to his feelings: nevertheless, when he first assumed the government he was received with every sentiment of respect; the people were disposed to regard him as a fellow-sufferer with themselves, by the act of his ancestor, and hoped that his interest would still be exerted in behalf of his natural dependents. As such, on his arrival the natives, forgetting their usual apathy, flocked around him, took the horses from his carriage, and drew him to his house, amidst the loudest acclamations. But this popularity was of short duration: whilst the bill above-mentioned was depending, the people were *instructed* to believe, that its object went to the entire annihilation of their property, which it was represented the duke, in imitation of one of the Earls of Derby, meant to seize into his own hands. A prejudice once sown, especially by a popular leader, is difficult to eradicate, in proportion to the grossness of the soil in which it has taken

root; and the extreme ignorance of the mass contributed to establish a belief, which, to this moment, is not wholly done away; many of the landholders still asserting, that such a scheme *was* on foot, but that by *some* means, (which they neither understand, nor can explain,) it was defeated through the interference of certain individuals, who, from thence forward, have been regarded, without justice or reason, as the protectors of Manx independence; whilst the duke has invariably to encounter either the strongest marks of aversion, or at best a silent and contemptuous neglect. His acts, many of them highly beneficial to the community, are viewed with suspicion, and to the utmost of their power the legislature set themselves to negative and defeat all his propositions. Most people wonder that, so circumstanced, his grace does not resign an office in which he is so ill understood, and from whence he can derive neither honour nor profit: but perhaps the maintenance of his private rights are bound up to a certain extent in the exercise of his power as a governor; and in addition to that consideration, he has extensive influence in the appointment of officers in the different departments, which are usually filled up through his patronage, by persons connected with, or dependent on, his family, generally to the exclusion of the natives, whose jealousy is very properly excited by this preference shown to foreigners, who, on the other hand, feeling their obligation to the duke, are strenuous supporters of his power, and serve to compose a little court, and maintain a faint appearance of state during his short visits to the island.

Tour round the Island, commencing at Douglas—Description of that Town and Neighbourhood.

BEFORE I enter on general subjects connected with the present state of the island, I think it may form a very proper ground-work to draw a short sketch of the country itself. The scenery of the Isle of Man, except on the north side, where it is better wooded, has no great beauties: there is nothing to elevate or astonish, and not much to admire: the mountains are of too tame a character, and too frequently covered with fog, which, as a native poet says,

"Sits like a night-mare squat on Mona's breast,"

to give pleasure, except to an imagination strongly tinctured with Ossianic scenery; such may here find all the varieties of tint and form that enraptured the mountain bard, but they will still languish for the bolder features of his scenery. The highest elevation rises so gradually, that its effect is lost to the eye; there is hardly a bold or abrupt precipice throughout the whole, except in the rocky scenery round the coast, which can only be surveyed from the sea; the interior is cast in the same mould with its inhabitants, and a sort of quiet mediocrity characterises the whole. The country is intersected by streams, which, though scarcely more than rivulets, serve to diversify the scene; and the water is every where pure and excellent, totally free from the brackish taste usually prevailing in the vicinity of the sea, and, as has been found on experiment, admirably adapted to the use of the manufacturer as well as for domestic purposes.

The course usually pursued by travellers is to make a

tour round the coast, on which all the towns and villages are seated, the interior being chiefly divided into small farms, or abandoned to the undisturbed dominion of heath and gorse. The high roads are tolerably level, and capable, with a little more attention, of being made excellent. The town of Douglas, from various causes, has a preeminence over all the others, both in trade and population, though it is not the seat of government; but as it is the point at which nearly all visitors first arrive, I shall begin my description in that quarter.

The approach to this place by sea presents a most imposing aspect. On turning either of the heads that form the semicircle of the bay, which is of considerable extent, the eye takes in at once a variety of objects calculated to raise fairy hopes of the interior. In the centre stands the free stone palace of the Duke of Athol, called Mona Castle, magnificent from its size, if not from its architectural beauties. The hill behind this mansion is planted and cultivated, so as to draw forth and embellish all its natural advantages, though the space devoted to this purpose, not exceeding five or six acres, bears no proportion to the size of the dwelling. At a short distance is a neat and elegant villa belonging to Colonel Stewart; and in addition to these several modern houses, at different elevations, overhang the bay, and give an air of modest opulence and comfort to the whole. In a recess at the south side rises the town with a handsome pier, and a light-house, of classical elegance, presenting a new proof of the capriciousness of taste in the human mind, these two being planned and erected by the same artist, who built the chaotic mass above-mentioned for the Duke of Athol. The whole bay is two miles across, and is sheltered from all winds except the north-east; both its points are rocky and dangerous, and in the middle is a bed of rocks called "Conister," on which, in the stormy season, many vessels find their destruction.

It is unfortunate when the first glance at a place excites expectations, which every succeeding view must damp and dissipate. Those who arrive at Douglas on a fine day can hardly fail to find the pier covered with groupes of white-robed damsels, full of gaiety and spirit. They will cast their eyes with delight on the villas which surround or overhang the bay. If the time is evening, they may probably be greeted with the sound of military music from the parade; and the combination must naturally lead them to anticipate an entrance into a Mahometan paradise, peopled with houris. But this lovely vision will only last till they have ascended the stairs opposite to the custom-house; from that moment they must thread their way through a labyrinth of narrow dirty streets, and prepare to encounter the usual variations of dirt and neglect; for certainly nothing can be more inconvenient or disagreeable than the internal arrangement of this town, where the divisions form angles which would defy the skill of the best charioteer of ancient or modern times: no part is flagged, nor is it well lighted, except in the vicinity of the harbour. The whole forms a triangle, the longest side extending from the bridge to the pier; but as the buildings are now rising in every direction, this shape will soon be lost; nor is it indeed even now so clearly defined as it was a few years back. The pier is in length five hundred and twenty feet, its breadth forty: it is handsomely paved with free stone. At the distance of four hundred feet it suddenly expands fifty feet to the right: this part being raised forms a semicircle to which there is an ascent by a flight of steps. And in the centre of the area is the lighthouse, according to the opinion of nautical men, more to be celebrated for its beauty than utility; being situated considerably within Douglas Head, and so nearly on a level with the town, that its light is often confounded with that of the neighbouring houses.

The harbour is esteemed the best dry one in the Irish

channel, and admits vessels of considerable burthen, at high water, close to the quay. The customhouse is the best building in the town, and conveniently situated for business. It was erected during the prevalence of the contraband trade, by one of those persons who had realized a considerable property in that pursuit; but in the panic following the revestment of the island, he sold it much under its value to the Duke of Athol, by whom it has been devoted to its present use. Till very lately all the houses in Douglas were low and ill-constructed, crowded together without regard to convenience or uniformity; but latterly several new streets have been constructed in the suburbs, well situated for comfort and accommodation, in which the houses combine some degree of elegance in the exterior, with considerable attention to internal convenience.

The act of the legislature, taking away the protection from foreigners, has been more severely felt in Douglas than in any part of the island, this being the spot generally preferred by visiters of this description; and in consequence many houses are at this time uninhabited, and the shops have lost that animated appearance of business formerly visible in them: but yet as all the imports and most of the exports pass through this port, there is still a considerable trade carried on, and a degree of bustle perceptible on the quay, that keeps hope alive, and leads the inhabitants to look forward to the renewal of past prosperity from some other source. The shops afford a good assortment of articles of necessity and convenience; but it is the practice to mix various branches of trade in one receptacle, particularly linen-drapery, grocery, and hardwares, which is not favourable to the condition of the stock. One of the principal traders in the town of Douglas deals in the following incongruous list of commodities—millinery, mercery, liquors, wines, grocery, linen-drapery, stationary, ironmongery, salt, shoes, tobacco, snuff, brushes, brooms, mops, perfumery, hats, hosiery, herrings, and coals.

The assembly-room is spacious, but neither elegant nor even neat; yet the balls are well attended, and the young people dance to their two fiddles with as much hilarity as if the apartment was illuminated by Grecian lamps, or adorned with velvet hangings. A theatre was erected a few years since; but the encouragement given being insufficient to induce good performers to make even temporary visits, the building has been diverted to other purposes.

Amongst the most promising establishments are a public library and reading room; institutions so necessary to the improvement of society, that they deserve in all places the highest support, and the most careful superintendence: but in this, as in many other instances, too much party spirit prevails, and in consequence the advance has not been equal to the commencement. The president, the committee, and the secretary, have been occupied with private differences, when they should have been debating only on the best means of promoting the good of the society, and therefore the collection of books is neither so large nor so well chosen as it might have been, considering the time which has elapsed since the formation, or the funds subscribed. There is now only one printing-press* in the island, from whence a newspaper issues weekly; but it is the vehicle merely for advertisements. In Douglas is a small chapel dedicated to St. Matthew; but the place of worship most frequented is a new church, a little above the town, which is neatly finished, and where the pews let at a very high rate. The parish church, called Kirk Braddan, is at a distance of two miles. There are, besides these, a Methodist meeting house, a Presbyterian chapel, and also one for Catholics.

A Lancastrian school, and a house of reception for the poor, ought to be mentioned with praise. Both owe their

* Since writing this, another has been established.

rise to voluntary subscriptions, to which those persons, whom the natives are too fond of distinguishing by the term *strangers*, have been much the largest contributors. Formerly, the poor of Douglas, as is still the case in all other parts of the island, were partly maintained by a collection, which is made every Sunday in the different churches after the morning service, when the wardens go round from pew to pew, and though none of the donations are large, yet it is very unusual for any one to refuse some trifle. In country places, where the persons claiming parochial relief are not numerous, these alms have been found tolerably adequate to their support; but in the towns, though the collections were much larger, yet they fell very far short of the wants to be supplied; and this deficiency it was the custom to make up by domiciliary visits of the paupers themselves, who usually on a Monday morning made a progress in a body from house to house, to the great annoyance of the inhabitants, who were literally besieged by a body of claimants not easily to be either satisfied or dispersed. The establishment of a public kitchen in Douglas has completely relieved the housekeepers of that town from this weekly visitation: to support this institution each family subscribes according to inclination or ability, and the whole is conducted under the vigilant and judicious superintendance of the high bailiff of the town, to whose exertions the plan, excellent as it is, first owed its rise. Those poor persons who, from sickness or infirmity, are unable to attend at the regular meals are provided with food at home, the others take their shares at a common table, and some few reside in the poor-house altogether. The whole number receiving daily aid are about a hundred persons.

The Lancastrian school has also been an essential public benefit, and a very visible improvement has taken place in the children of the poor since its institution. Establishments of the same kind, but on a smaller scale, have been

set on foot in Ramsay and Castletown; from whence it may be hoped, that the blessings of education, which not many years since were unattainable even by the higher ranks in the island, will now be extended to the lowest. The last public buildings which I have to notice are the hot and cold salt water baths. These, which are not yet quite finished, will be of inestimable utility to valetudinarians, and no doubt tend to increase the resort of visitors from the opposite coasts during the bathing season.

The post office for the island is in Douglas, where all letters are brought from Whitehaven, and thence forwarded to the other towns. The packet sails from England, wind and weather permitting, every Monday night; and after a stay of three days is again due for the opposite coast.

The lodging-houses are very numerous in this town, but there are few inns, and only two of any pretensions; in these the accommodations are good, and the difference between their charges and those made at English hotels is so great, that it induces many persons to give a preference to Douglas, for a temporary visit during the summer, especially as the sands are well adapted for bathing, and proper machines in waiting. The markets are abundantly supplied; but for a scale of prices, &c. I shall reserve a page at the conclusion of the work.

The Duke of Athol's house or castle, as it is the first object which strikes the eye of the traveller, and the most considerable for magnitude in the island, must not be passed over with the slight notice already taken of it. It is an erection faced with free-stone, on a plan so extraordinary, that it has puzzled persons, much better skilled in architecture than I pretend to be, to decide what class it belongs to. The mansion is a perfect square. On a line with the back front extends a string of offices, forming *one* wing under a colonnade, and thereby giving an air of deformity to the whole. The principal front recedes a little in the centre, for no reason but to countenance the erection

of a modern balcony with a light iron railing, to contrast the Gothic columns running up in the other parts of the building. The windows are much too narrow, and the grand saloon, which is of magnificent dimensions, is completely spoiled by a row of small lights, like the windows of an attic story, passing over the cornice and principal sashes; besides all, the eye is offended by a line of battlements, above which rises a pointed and slated roof, giving a direct contradiction to the armed pretensions of the front; nor is this the worst error in judgment, for, amidst an assemblage of chimneys, roofs, cornices, and carved work, springs up a round Gothic tower, with long *sash windows* between the loop-holes, the only visible use of which strange excrescence is to sustain a flag-staff, whence the colours are occasionally displayed.

The domain around the mansion is on a scale of littleness exciting continual astonishment, since there could be no cause why the lord of the whole island should fix on a spot so circumscribed, that the dwelling appears completely crowded under the hill, or rather gives an idea of having slid down in some violent concussion of the earth.

The terraces, walks, and gardens, would hardly suffice to exercise the taste of a citizen, who had to plan out his parterre and paddock for a country-box at Islington; and the whole is so much elbowed and incommoded by neighbouring villas and cottages, that it can be compared to nothing more appropriate than the noble owner himself, descending from his elevated station as Lord of Man, and submitting to jostle and associate as *deputy* with those officers over whom he ought to have held sovereign sway. The cost of this building, with all its defects, is said to have been upwards of £50,000; a large sum to expend on a mere monument over departed greatness.

Tour continued—Castletown—Derby Haven—The Calf—Peel Town and Castle—Ramsay—Lazey, and the Road returning to Douglas again.

FROM Douglas to Castletown, which is the regular route, the distance is ten miles. The road lies past the seat of Major Taubman, called the Nunnery, from the ancient structure formerly occupying the same site; but of which not a vestige remains, except a gateway still supporting the old bell, but now forming an entrance to the stables. The gardens and grounds have some beautiful features. For many years the whole has been without a rival; and travellers, finding nothing else to admire, have lavished more praise than it deserves on this spot, which certainly has many advantages in point of situation; but the scenery is disfigured by the erection of small houses, a mill, a warehouse, and even by two bleachfields, evermore spread with linens of different shades, all which are directly in front of the mansion. The house is not more than a decent country seat, whose whitened walls are curiously finished by a cornice and bordering of deep red stone. Above the nunnery the road commands a view of a rich valley, in which stands Kirk Braddan; and over all rises the lofty mountain of South Barrule. On the left is the delightful little villa belonging to Major Tobyn, standing in the midst of a farm so neat and well cultivated, that the whole presents a scene of judicious and profitable improvement, combined with domestic comfort and beauty, which attracts continual admiration. Half way to Castletown, on the right, is Mount Murray, belonging to a nephew of the Duke of Athol; and from hence the mountain scenery runs up in a variety of barrenness, including Snawfel, Penny Pont, and North Barrule.

Kirk Santon, a small church, lies on the left; and about a mile from thence are several druidical vestiges, being stones elevated and placed in a circular form. Following the direct road, you arrive at Balla Llonay Bridge, usually called the Devil's Bridge, which is said to be the scene of his satanic majesty's frequent exploits; on which account it is with extreme reluctance the natives venture over it after dark.

Balla Salla is the largest and most populous village in the island. The river and scenery are particularly beautiful, and some remains of Rushen Abbey still adorn the banks of the stream. This retreat was founded by Olave, King of Man, in 1104; but the church, though begun at the same time, was not finished or consecrated till 1257, though it had in that long interval served as a burial place for several of the royal family. The monks were twelve in number, besides the abbot. They practised great austerities, wearing neither shoes nor linen, nor eating flesh. In 1192 the recluses removed to Douglas, but in four years they returned to the abbey. In 1316 this place was plundered by Richard de Mandeville, who carried off the treasure to Ireland; and it was finally suppressed with the monasteries in England, in the reign of Henry VIII. but whether by the Lord of Man or by the King of England, I have not been able to discover. The site and remains of the abbey are in the possession of Mr. Moore, whose father, when first deemster, built a handsome house on the spot, and converted some remains of the monastery into out-offices.

From Balla Salla to Castletown, a distance of only two miles, the road is greatly beautified by some flourishing thorn hedges, which are cultivated with great attention on the estate of George Quayle, Esq. These were, a very few years since, the only specimens of this ornamental fence in the island.

Although tradition has handed down no authentic

account of the antiquity of the four principal towns, yet there is reason to believe that Castletown, or, as it was originally called, Rushen, is the most ancient; and that it may have been nearly coeval with the castle, though the surrounding buildings, not being framed like that for duration, must have been many times renewed since the first formation of the town. All those now in existence appear to have been raised within the last century, except one, now the George Inn, but formerly the abode of the lieutenant, and of the lord himself when on the island.

The venerable castle demands particular attention; it was erected in 960 by Guttred, the second Danish prince in succession from King Orry. This building, which is remarkable for solidity, bears a strong resemblance, and was probably constructed on the same plan with the Castle of Elsineur, in Denmark. It is of a figure not easily described. A sort of stone glacis runs round the keep, and includes some other buildings now fallen to ruin. This glacis was added by Cardinal Wolsey, during the time that he was guardian to Edward, Earl of Derby. Within the walls are some convenient and partly modernised apartments, appropriated to the use of the lieutenant governor, and also a large court-room devoted to public use. On the walls are three confined buildings where the records are kept, and the business of the rolls-office is conducted. There are also two rooms sometimes granted as an indulgence to persons confined for debt; but the great mass of unfortunate persons of this description, have hitherto been crowded together in three apartments set apart for that use; whilst felons were confined in the interior of the keep, in chambers so ruinous, that it was a great impeachment of the humanity of the government to commit any one on mere suspicion, to such dungeons. Within the last year, however, great alterations have been commenced in the internal part of the castle; all of which is undergoing a substantial repair, and rooms of different dimensions are

planned out, where the miseries of incarceration will be alleviated by some attention to the convenience and accommodation of the sufferers.

The streets of Castletown are regular and airy. In the centre is an open space or square, around which are several very excellent houses, and at one end a neat and well appointed chapel. The keys have a house appropriated to their use; but it is a mean building, unsuited to the station held by this branch of the legislature. The free school of this town is considered as a very beneficial institution: it owes its rise to Bishop Barrow, who founded it in order to secure a succession of students, who should be properly educated for the ministry. The qualification required in the master is, that he should be a clergyman, and have taken his degrees at one of the universities; and the endowment arises from a sum given by Charles, Earl of Derby, being the profits of a former vacancy of the bishopric. Dr. Barrow also obtained several contributions, with which he purchased part of the impropriations; and he gave two valuable estates of his own in the island, called Hango Hill and Balla Gilly, all which are applied to the maintenance of four students, who previously to their admission must give security either that they will enter on the ministry when their education is finished, or repay the money expended on them. After leaving the academy, the young students have a stipend per annum till they obtain promotion in the church.

Castletown being the residence of the lieutenant governor, and usually also of the southern deemster; and as all law proceedings are conducted there, it must be considered as the metropolis of the island; and though not so flourishing in its trade, or so gay from the influx of strangers, as its rival, Douglas, yet it affords, in the opinion of many, a much pleasanter retreat to persons unconnected with trade, or those who prefer a quiet social intercourse to a mixed society. The only public place of amusement

here, as in the other towns, is the assembly room; but there is the usual routine of card playing, tea drinking, and morning visits. The gentlemen have a reading room; and, of late, a literary society has been set on foot, which it is to be hoped will before long give to the general association a higher tone. There are not many shops in Castletown; and the access by sea is so difficult, that trade to any extent can never be carried on there, as most of the supplies must necessarily be landed at Douglas.

The Isle of Man bank is established in this town, and is indeed the only house in the island which carries on the banking business unmixed with other concerns.

About a mile and a half across the sands is the isthmus which joins the peninsula, called Langness Point, to the shore, and by its bend on one side forms an excellent and secure creek, called Derby Haven, where are the remains of a round tower, built by the Earl of Derby in 1603. This was no doubt a commanding point, and much better calculated to repel an enemy than Castle Rushen, which, indeed, has always been nearly inaccessible by sea, owing to the dangerous and rocky bay before it. Near the fort at Derby Haven are the ruins of a church, by some supposed to have been a cathedral. It is now used as a place of interment for Catholics.

About two miles west of Castletown is Port le Moray; and a little beyond that Port Erin, a romantic secluded bay, offering an excellent harbour. On the beach is a small village composed of huts of fishermen, with here and there a little cottage villa of a superior description. Near this place are the Giant's Quoiting Stones, as they are called, being large masses of unhewn slate standing erect; and a little further is a barrow, called Fairy Hill, very generally believed to owe its rise to the labours of those visionary beings, but, in reality, thrown up in commemoration of Reginald, King of Man, who was slain in single combat by Ivar, in 1948.

From Port Erin it is usual to make the passage to the small island called the Calf, always an object of curiosity to visitors; the distance from which place is three miles. The circumference of the Calf is computed to be five miles, including an area of six hundred acres. A very small part of this surface is converted into arable land, but the whole forms a fine sheep-walk. It is the property of the Duke of Athol, and by him leased to a farmer of the name of Gurley, who has erected a convenient house in the centre of his domain, in which he resides, with his wife and two or three servants, who are the only inhabitants of this isolated spot.

It is very properly tithe-free, having the benefit neither of church nor minister. Except in the garden of the farmer, there is not a tree or shrub on the whole island. Rabbits abound every where, and are a great source of profit to the farmer in the spring of the year. The Calf is also the resort of immense numbers of sea-fowl, who form a most striking and picturesque scene from the water, sitting in innumerable tiers, one above another, on their nests in the clefts of the rocks, where the silence and security of their situation must efface every recollection of their vicinity to their enemy, man, and recal the idea of those first ages of the world when birds and beasts were allowed to multiply their numbers, and possess their domains unrivalled and undisturbed. The scenery is uncommonly bold and beautiful, especially when thus adorned by its white-breasted inhabitants.

This islet is said to have been, at different times, the retreat of two hermits. The first, in the reign of Elizabeth, imposed on himself a residence in this dreary solitude, as a penance, for having murdered his mistress in a fit of jealousy. The other was one Thomas Bushel, who made it his abode in the time of James I. in order to try the experiment how far a life of severe abstinence would promote longevity. What is called Bushel's house is now in

ruins; it bears the outline of a small building, apparently consisting of two rooms, situated on the highest ground, and within a few yards of a perpendicular rock.

Whether this extraordinary ascetic died in his melancholy retreat, tradition gives us no certain information; but there is a place called Bushel's Grave, on the top of the adjoining rock, from whence we are led to suppose that he did so.

This cemetery is most curiously constructed in the form of a cross, containing two cavities six feet long, three wide, and two deep. Immediately on the edge is a wall of stone and mortar, two feet high; the whole is roofed and slated; but except the before-mentioned application of this repository to the purpose of sepulture, no probable conjecture has been formed of the use or design for which it was constructed. The rock itself is only accessible on one side, and is called the Eye or Burrow: it adjoins the Calf at low water, but at high water there are forty feet of intermediate sea.

Besides this point, there are two lofty triangular rocks, springing abruptly from the water, the highest of which rises one hundred feet; and in the narrower channel, between the Calf and the main land, is an islet named Kitterland, which affords herbage to a few sheep in summer.

Leaving Port Erin, the road to Peel lies through the pretty village of Kirk Arbory, so called from the number of trees formerly flourishing there, of which not a vestige now remains. From hence we have a near view of the mountain called South Barrule; and on the opposite side are the lead-mines of Foxdale, the working of which has, of late years, been relinquished, though the belief of their intrinsic value is still maintained by many well-informed persons. On the left is a mountain-torrent, falling from a perpendicular rock of about thirty feet, which the inhabitants have agreed to honour with the title of a cascade. At a short distance is Kirk Patrick, a church erected in 1710,

by the exertions and benefactions of Bishop Wilson, who, besides giving £100 to better the endowment, presented the pulpit, reading-desks, communion-table, &c. &c.

Not far from hence is the most romantic and beautiful spot in the island, a valley called Glenmoi. It is a deep and rocky glen, well wooded, through which runs a rivulet, murmuring over its stony bed, and in one part forming a delightful fall of from thirty to forty feet. The northern bank is almost perpendicular, covered with luxuriant ivy, intermixed with holly; the south side exhibits a rich plantation of ash, chesnut, and hazel. As the valley winds considerably, all foreign objects are necessarily excluded, and the whole has an air of the most pleasing solitude.

Peel, which was originally called Holm Town, is twelve miles distant from Douglas, and eight from Castletown; it is more remarkable for its ancient than its present rank.

In the feudal times, this town must have derived consequence from its vicinity to the castle; and when the smuggling trade was at its height, Peel was a station of importance, but it is now little more than a narrow and dirty fishing town. The population is estimated at twelve hundred people. The bay abounds with excellent fish, and on this coast the herrings have, for many years, been taken in the greatest abundance. Peel Castle stands on a peninsula about one hundred yards west of the town; at low water it is joined to the main land by a stone wall, shelving to the top. Formerly, the approach was by a flight of steps, but time has rendered them nearly useless, and travellers now make their way to the ruins by clambering over the rocks.

Till the revestment of the island in the British government, this fortress was garrisoned by native troops in the pay of the lord, who usually gave them English officers; but, at the sale of the royalty, the armoury was cleared of the matchlocks and other ancient weapons, the garrison reduced, and the whole has been suffered to fall into a state

of incurable ruin. The remains, however, have yet an imposing appearance, the walls are still flanked by towers, and the outline is pretty well defined; it encloses an irregular polygon of two acres. The building was originally composed of a sort of red slate, winged and faced in many parts with red stone. Almost in the centre is a square pyramidical mound of earth, each of its sides facing one of the cardinal points. The admeasurement of this elevation is seventeen yards, and it is surrounded by a ditch five feet and a half broad, but of the use for which it was designed, no account is extant; it is conjectured either to have been an eminence whence a commander might harangue the troops, or with more probability, the burial-place of some great personage.

In this fortress, two eminent persons have been imprisoned at different times; the one Elenor, wife to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, in the reign of Henry VI., the other, the great Earl of Warwick, who, on one of his reverses, was banished to the island, and detained in the custody of this garrison.

Within the castle walls are the remains of two cathedrals, one dedicated to St. Patrick, and believed to be the first Christian church erected here; the other, inscribed to St. Germain, and built about 1245. This last is described by several ancient authors, particularly Waldron, as having been richly ornamented, and abounding in monumental inscriptions; but, if it ever was so, the page of history has been more lasting than even memorials of stone and marble, for, at present, not a trace of these embellishments is discoverable to the most curious research. It is completely unroofed, and only occasionally used as a cemetery. Bishop Wilson was the last diocesan enthroned in this cathedral.

Underneath is the ecclesiastical prison, constructed with all the gloomy severity of Monkish times: it is a vault eighteen feet deep, of which the roof is formed by thirteen

pointed arches, supported upon short pilasters, only twelve inches above the ground. The bottom is extremely rough; and in one corner is a well, or spring, which must have made a deplorable addition to the natural humidity of the place, where neither light nor air is admitted, but through a small window, deep set in the wall at the east end.

Waldron also says, in his account of this place, that there were other cells under the two churches, adapted to the purpose of punishment, in some of which the wretched inmates could neither sit nor lie down, and that their seclusion in these dens of horror depended on the nature and enormity of their offences, and on the will of their judges. In these days of civilization, who can reflect without astonishment on the cruelty that could inflict, or the patience that could endure, such aggravated tortures both of body and mind. But though these severities have never been exercised since the reformation, yet one cannot hear without wonder, that the other part of the ecclesiastical prison was tenanted so lately as in the days of the excellent Bishop Wilson, who, in more than one instance, consigned offenders to that miserable abode for various offences against the church, particularly the non-payment of tithes, and even in some cases without a hearing. Indeed, the power of the clergy in the Isle of Man has always had an arbitrary character, and even to this day the sentence of the bishop, or vicars general, is decisive, nor does it admit of bail: there is no alternative between prompt submission or imprisonment.

Three miles from Peel is the celebrated Tynwald-mount. Its appearance is pleasing from the neatness with which its singular form is preserved, and venerable from its antiquity, and the interesting purposes to which it is entirely dedicated. It is a circular barrow, of moderate height, formed into a pyramid of three circles, the lowest being about eighty yards in circumference, and the top not more than seven feet in diameter. On this, when the legislative

assembly is collected, a canopy and chair are placed for the lord, or his deputy; and the different officers, clergy, and keys, take their respective stations below him, whilst the surrounding area is filled with the people. Near the mount stands St. John's Chapel, from whence, after prayers and a sermon, the several persons forming the Tynwald court, move in procession to the mount, the ancient formulæ being still observed; though from the great change of circumstances which has taken place since the origin of the institution, the ceremony is so completely divested of the dignity of former days, that it excites little attention, and hardly now affords a holiday-gaze to the mob.

The first part of the road to Ramsay from St. John's lies through a deep and solitary glen, of two miles in length, containing in all that distance only one miserable cottage, and one stunted oak. It is a most hermit-like solitude, steep, lofty, barren, and desolate. In the bottom runs a narrow rivulet, above which, the road is cut on the side of the hill. Leaving this dingle, you approach the pleasant village of Kirk Michael, a place rendered interesting to the admirers of superior goodness, as having been the home-scene of Bishop Wilson's active benevolence for more than half a century. I could scarcely forgive the traveller who, on entering the precincts of this parish, did not pay his first visit to the modest stone that covers the earthly remains of so much excellence.

The church is in the midst of the village, of which the chancel was rebuilt after the death of his father, by Dr. Wilson, son to the bishop, who was born at Bishop's Court, and all his life took a warm interest in the affairs of the island, and, by his purse and influence, rendered many very essential services to his countrymen.

Near the church-yard is an upright stone, of great antiquity, on which are chiselled various devices of horses, riders, dogs, and stags; on the upper part is a warrior,

with his spear and shield; on the edge are some runic characters, which are thus variously translated by different antiquaries. Sir John Preatwich asserts, that the words form the following sentence:

"Walter, son of Thurulf, a knight, right valiant, Lord of Frithu, the Father, Jesus Christ."

Whereas Mr. Beaufort, with equal confidence, reads the inscription thus:

"For the sins of Ivalsir, the son of Duval, this cross was erected by his mother Aftridi."

There are some other monumental relicts, which make a better appearance in description than reality, being almost defaced by time.

In this parish is a pile of stones, called Cairn Vial, probably raised in commemoration of some contest, or of some eminent chief buried on the spot.

A mile from Kirk Michael is the palace (as it is called by courtesy) of the Bishops of Man. It is a moderate-sized building, well wooded, and standing in the midst of some excellent land, in an improved state of cultivation. The present diocesan is repairing and enlarging the house, and by the interest he takes in agricultural pursuits, will probably afford a beneficial example to the neighbourhood, and stimulate their exertions.

There are many barrows in this part of the country, which, in early ages, was frequently the scene of bloodshed and contention, most of the northern invaders having landed at Ramsay. Governor Challoner had several of these tumuli opened, but found only a few urns of clay, and in one, some bones, which had apparently passed the fire.

Two miles north-east of Kirk Michael is the village of Ballaugh, one of the most populous in the island, some manufactories for coarse hats being established there. In this parish is still a good deal of boggy land, intersected by the Currah drain. The farmers have a great advantage

in being near marl-pits, which, used as a manure of late years, has been employed to the manifest improvement of the lands. Two miles from Ballaugh is the church of Jurby, almost at the point of land bearing the same name. The church-yard is on very high ground, and affords an extensive view over the channel to the opposite coast. A cross road leads from hence to Kirk Bride, situated five miles from Ramsay, and two from the Point of Ayr.

Between Kirk Bride and Ramsay is Kirk Andreas, a rectory and archdeaconry, of which the old church has within a few years been replaced by a new one. Near an ancient seat called Balla Hurry, is the encampment formed by the troops of Oliver Cromwell. The situation is well chosen, it is surrounded by a wide fossé, and has a bastion at each corner, the internal square being sufficiently sunk to secure the soldiers from the fire of the enemy.

The approach to the town of Ramsay lies over a stone bridge of three arches, which crosses the Sulby river. The town is small and irregular, but derives a slight degree of importance from being the seat of justice for the northern district. There is a pier which runs out a few hundred feet to sea, and is terminated by a light-house; the bay is spacious, and the anchorage good, but the harbour, from neglect, has become nearly useless, and will only afford shelter to vessels of very small burthen. The country about Ramsay, as well as the neighbourhood, is far superior to the town; the former being in a high state of cultivation, and chiefly inhabited by native families of considerable respectability, amongst whom a pleasant association is kept up: nor do they so decidedly exclude strangers from all participation in their hospitality, as is sometimes done in other parts of the island.

Provisions are considerably cheaper here than at the southern side, and it is also asserted that the land is much superior, and affords greater promise of advantage to the farmer; against which, however, I should fear the want of

an immediate and certain market must be more than a counterpoise. Many apple orchards flourish here in great luxuriance, and thorn or quickset hedges, on most estates, have superseded the stone wall so common in the south.

In proceeding from Ramsay to Maughold you leave the lofty mountain, North Barrule, on the right. Maughold head is a bold promontory, beneath which, under some moss-clad rocks, is a deep spring, much celebrated for its medicinal virtues. These waters were supposed to derive additional efficacy, if drank sitting in the chair of the saint, which still remains near the well.

This point, and the adjacent village, take their name from the venerable person who was there cast ashore, and who, as tradition informs us, made himself a dwelling on the spot where he landed; and where his exemplary piety, and the uncommon severity of his life, attracted such universal reverence, that his solitude was soon invaded by a number of votaries, who, desiring to shelter themselves beneath the protection of his sanctity, or to profit by his example, soon raised a town in his immediate neighbourhood, which became one of the most populous in the island. Of the truth of this legend no evidence remains, except the uncommon dimensions of the church, which greatly exceed those of any other place of worship in the country; and the circumstance of its standing in a space of five acres of consecrated ground, which certainly implies a larger population than that by which it is at present surrounded. Near this church-yard is a pillar of clay slate, on which the figures are so rudely executed, and withal so much defaced, that it offers a full license to fancy, to ascribe the original design to the most opposite subjects. Some say it is intended to depict the birth, passion, and crucifixion of our Saviour; others discern in it a clear and distinct configuration of the visit of St. Bridget to St. Maughold, when he invested her with the veil. For my own part, I can only wonder at the ingenuity that can

discern, in such an heterogeneous mass, a likeness to any thing in heaven or on earth; and I feel rather inclined to think, that the artist employed his chisel under a conscientious recollection of the second commandment.

Passing on towards Laxey, Snowfield rears its venerable head, and invites the traveller to a view which, for its extent, is unrivalled in Great Britain, of which empire this mountain is said to be the exact centre; and a great part of which may be distinctly seen from the top of it. Of Ireland you behold the Arklow mountains, the high point of land on this side the bay of Carlingford, and the hills behind Strangford; of Wales, the towering Snowdon and great Ormshead, besides a long line of mountains; of England, part of the coast of Cumberland and Lancashire; and of Scotland, all the high land between Dumfries and Port Patrick. Whilst the Isle of Man itself forms the home view, and is spread out like a map beneath your feet.

Laxey is a village of little trade, composed of about thirty houses, the retreat of fishermen; but the glen is deserving of notice, for the romantic beauty of its scenery. It is well planted with trees. About half-way up are some copper mines, from whence no great advantages have as yet been derived, though they are occasionally worked. A little way up the valley is a flax spinning-mill, belonging to Messrs. Moore's, of Douglas. Kirk Lonan, the parish church, is a mile from the village. At some distance on the road to Douglas are twelve stones placed in an oval form; just without the oval are two others, six feet high, one of which is cloven from top to bottom. The whole are erected on a mound of earth, elevated four or five feet; in the centre of which is an excavation seven feet long and three wide. The natives have connected several supernatural tales with this spot, but they give no rational account of its origin: most probably the whole is a remnant of Druidism.

Ken Droghead is a village rather more than two miles from Douglas, of which the parish church is dedicated to St. Onca, the mother of St. Patrick, though the name is usually corrupted to Conchan. This neighbourhood has been held up of late years as an example to the rest of the island, on account of the great and visible improvement effected here by different agriculturists, to which its vicinity to Douglas, and the facility of obtaining manure, have no doubt contributed.

Having now completed the circuit of the island, I have only to notice the inland parish of Maroun, which offers no extraordinary particulars to record. It is intersected by a road leading to St. John's. Nearly opposite to the parish church are the walls of a chapel, called St. Trinnian's, said to have been erected in consequence of a vow made by a shipwrecked mariner; and its present ruinous state is ascribed to the malice of the demon by whom this unfortunate had been persecuted, who being restrained from any further personal injury to the sufferer, amused his revenge by throwing off the roof of the new building.



Agriculture—Its great Advance of late Years in the Isle of Man—Scale of Population at different Periods—State of Buildings—Advantages possessed by the Manx Farmer over those of neighbouring Countries—Roads—Manure—Notice of some particular Improvements effected by Individuals.

THE agriculture of a state, whether large or small, must ever form an interesting consideration, connected as it is with all that relates to domestic ease and independence. Its pursuits have a character different to almost all others, in this money making and money spending world. The returns of the farmer, ere they can be ensured, must be sought by a combination of industry, patience, and ingenuity; qualities tending to improve the character of the mind, whilst they are employed to embellish and enrich the surface of the land. If to the wisdom which enables him to discern the best means, he does not add coolness to pursue his end, he has little chance of ultimate success; and if unremitting care and practical economy are wanting, he will still find himself at a distance from the goal. These are very different characteristics to those which commerce demands, in whose service wealth and luxury too frequently become the reward of mere enterprise, whilst the unobtrusive and moderate trader is left to pine over disappointed hopes and fruitless efforts. The pursuits of the farmer have this essential advantage, that if the returns are slow they are in a moderate degree certain; and meanwhile, the health both of body and mind may be benefited by a profession, which, in a peculiar manner, protects its members from contamination of morals, and leads them to look up to that Providence, whence only they can derive their success. The farmer more than any one feels, or ought to

feel, his dependence on a superior power, awaits his visible operations in the kindly return of the seasons! He claims his bounty in the fruitful shower! and if he thinks at all, he must acknowledge, that though he may plough and sow, it is beyond his might to ensure any increase.

Again, I conceive that in this class the great virtue of benevolence is a more active principle than in those whose employments shut them up in a shop or at a desk! The wants of the labourer must ever be visible to his employer: it is his interest to encourage industry and suppress immorality: and it is seldom you see the bustling female who superintends the domestic concerns of the farm-house or yard, forget the sick wife of the cottager, or refuse those little aids which, though hardly missed from her large stores, are yet of infinite benefit to those whose means are limited to the measure of daily wants, without any provision of increased comforts for the hour of sickness.

Perhaps this view of peace and goodness, combined with industry, will in England be regarded as drawn from the old school, when farmers moved contentedly in their own sphere, and fulfilled the duties of it, with scrupulous integrity and satisfied humility; when they took their turn at the plough, whilst their wives and daughters exercised their sensibility in the care of the poultry and pigs, and their ingenuity at the spinning wheel; before the possessor of a hundred acres thought it requisite that his sons should be dashing sportsmen, or his daughters accomplished *young ladies*; and before every thing was given to speculation and theory, and nothing to practice and industry. If this primitive state of things is no longer held in deserved esteem in the wealthy and luxurious state of Great Britain, there is no reason why it may not be restored or preserved in the Isle of Man, where the science is in its infancy, where success may yet crown the persevering endeavours of industry, and both respect and honour attend its progress.

In pursuing this subject, I cannot follow a better or more scientific guide than John Christian Curwen, Esq. president of the Workington Agricultural Society, of which the Isle of Man formed a branch, from the year 1809 to 1813. This gentleman being much connected with the country, and having framed his annual reports, on the state of the agricultural interests, upon actual inspection, and great local knowledge, must have been a sufficient judge of the subject: and I trust this general acknowledgment of his authority will supersede the necessity of noticing the particular passages which I may give even in his own words.

Having commented on the great neglect of this useful science, which subsisted during the earlier times, and on the particular causes whence this inattention to the internal interests of the island originated, I shall only now endeavour to show the progress that has been made under a better system of government, in the last twenty years. At the time of the revestment, nearly all the farms were occupied by native landholders, who cultivated small portions of their estates, and submitted the residue to the undisturbed dominion of heath and gorse. The first advances, as might naturally be expected, took place in the neighbourhood of the four towns, with the exception of those domains occupied by Bishop Wilson, who first raised large supplies of corn, and made extensive plantations, now flourishing in their prime and beauty, a lasting memorial, amongst a thousand others, of his judicious skill and care. That his example to a certain extent did produce its proper effect, is proved by the consequences; because, from that era, those seasons of excessive scarcity, which, previous to and even during his life, so frequently recurred in the island, have never been felt with equal severity.

But for the present highly-improved state of the country, the Manx are certainly indebted to the spirited exertions, and superior practice taught them by those of their

fellow subjects, whom they are too fond of separating from themselves by the offensive designation of strangers. It is those strangers who have ascertained the grateful nature of the soil! called forth and applied the various species of manure, which nature, with abundant liberality, had for ages offered in vain to native indolence or prejudice; and by these means have transformed a sterile heath into luxuriant corn fields and verdant pasture.

To the same class of visitors may also be ascribed the revival of planting, which, if it proceeds a few years more as rapidly as it has done in the last twenty, will render the legend of the naked valleys, and unclothed hills of Man, as incredible to future ages, as we now consider the record which describes the Druids in their groves, or an army in ambush under shelter of a forest.

Early writers all concur in representing the soil as extremely unfertile, in which account Sacheverell, Rolt, and many later authors agree, without inquiry or examination: since, the present appearances evince, beyond dispute, that the defect lay not in the lands but in the cultivators. It is a truth, that small as the population was forty years back, they got most of their wheaten bread in a manufactured state from Cumberland, from whence vessels trading to Ireland brought it out, and disposed of it at sea to the Manx boats, then constantly hovering about in pursuit of their established trade. Wheat was then hardly raised in the island, and even so late as 1798, when Feltham wrote his tour, he asserts that this grain could not be cultivated with advantage in the island, being from the nature of the soil, and other predisposing causes, liable to the smut in such a degree, as to discourage all attempts to introduce it. This error is now fairly corrected by the large crops raised since that time of the cleanest and best quality, as the returns from Liverpool market will prove. The generality of land, in a good situation, well cultivated, will

give of oats forty to fifty bushels per acre, of barley the same, and of wheat twenty-five to thirty.

Formerly!—and when on this subject I use that word, to prevent repetition I desire to be understood as meaning within twenty or thirty years. Formerly the instruments of husbandry were so few, that scarcely twenty carts were to be found in the whole island, and the farmers had no mode of carrying their corn but in kreils fixed on the horses' backs.

In the year 1642, Governor Greenhalgh made an ineffectual attempt to introduce the use of lime as a manure; and having built a kiln, it soon circulated as an article of news, that the deputy was actually engaged in a project to burn *stones* for the improvement of the land. The people hastened in crowds to witness the result of this wonderful process, and probably not without some strong doubts of the worthy governor's sanity: when, however, they beheld these masses perfectly reduced by the action of fire, they eagerly resolved to profit by an example, from whence they expected the most beneficial consequences must ensue. *Earth-pots*, as they were termed, were raised in all parts of the island, in which, without reference to quality, every kind of stone, flint, slate, or pebble, were indiscriminately subjected to the same process. For the ill success attending this *judicious* attempt they had an infallible reason to produce, founded on a belief that the governor had intelligence with the fairies, by whose agency *his* minerals were turned to a powder, whilst those of his cotemporaries were only condensed to a greater degree of hardness.

Of this curious fact many evidences remain, and quantities of calcined stones are frequently found in different parts, which have either been left in heaps, or used to fill up drains.

A clear idea of the little profit derived by proprietors of very large tracts of land from their possessions, may be obtained from a list of the implements in possession of a

person who occupied at least four hundred acres of his own estate; for the cultivation of which he had, according to Mr. Curwen's information, one plough and one harrow. In abundant years, the estate produced bread-corn (that is, oats and barley,) for the family; in failing ones, not that: and the cattle depended on the gorse and furze, with which the land was covered, both for food and shelter. The same estate is now let to a thriving tenant, for a rent of £800 per annum.

Nor is the reign of prejudice and ignorance yet wholly at an end; they have still a strong hold in the minds of some of the natives, and at the time I write there is a tract of excellent land, within three miles of Douglas, held by the proprietor, and surrounded by farms in such a state of cultivation as must awaken emulation, if that sentiment was not completely smothered; yet the owner of this place is so bigoted to his ancient habits, that if out of three hundred acres he can raise enough to supply the instant wants of his family, and retain seed for the coming year, he thinks he has done all that foresight and industry can require. The females spin their own wool and flax for clothing; and at the end of the season they are well satisfied to behold the whole returns consumed, comforting themselves with the hope that there is more coming in. As to a possible failure of their returns, they never calculate on such an event; nor does the future provision for a large family disturb the equanimity of their minds, believing, with primitive simplicity, that sufficient to the day is both the good and evil thereof. The estate, by the laws of the land, must descend to the next heir; and for the rest of the progeny, during the lives of their parents, they will live at home in unthinking and inactive stupidity, and at their death must turn out, as a matter of course, with no provision but their own labour for support. For all which improvidence, as we should call it, the present proprietor has an unfailing apology and reason, viz. that his father

did so before him; that he himself has enjoyed the estate as his due; and his brothers, who were brought up with him, are now in extreme old age, spending the remains of their strength as daily labourers on the roads, or in the neighbouring farms.

But these instances of neglect are becoming every day less frequent, and Mr. Curwen ascribes the change to the advance of trade, the great resort of settlers from other countries, and the excessive increase of luxury and taxation in Great Britain. The years of scarcity, also, have had here, as elsewhere, their beneficial effects; the great profits made by some farmers inducing a general spirit of speculation and improvement, which, in ordinary times, it would have taken many years to excite; whilst every tax imposed by the Parliament upon Great Britain operates as a bounty upon Manx agriculture. In all cases, the advance has been commensurate with these causes, as appears from the following comparative statement.

And first, as to the population. Mr. Curwen says, that at the commencement of the last century, the number of inhabitants on the island was under ten thousand; in 1755, he computes them at fifteen thousand; in 1777, only twelve years after the revestment, the numbers had increased to twenty thousand: they are now estimated thirty-five thousand. That this scale is absolutely correct, I am not quite assured. Bishop Wilson wrote a short history of the island some years before his death, which took place in 1755; and certainly no man had better means of ascertaining the real state of the country: he then calculated the population at twenty thousand.

In 1795, the Duke of Athol observes, in his case submitted to the privy council, that the king, by the revestment, has acquired an increase of thirty thousand subjects. It usually turns out that round numbers are inaccurate, but it is a fact, admitting no dispute, that a great and rapid increase has taken place of late years.

Another visible change appears in the buildings; every where the mud-walled cabin and thatched roof are giving place to erections of brick or stone with slated tops. In 1780, there were but four breweries in the island; at this time there are more than thirty, and many of them individually doing more business than the whole collectively at that time. So lately as 1807, three butchers supplied the town and neighbourhood of Douglas, and these only opened their stalls on the market-day: there is now a constant supply of meat exhibited by at least twelve competitors. Mealmen and hucksters were recently unknown in the towns, and many consequent inconveniences were felt by private families, who had to seek their corn in large quantities at the farmers, and thence to carry it through the whole process of grinding, and manufacturing for use.

But the most beneficial improvement has been made in the cultivation of garden produce for the market. Ten years back, a cart loaded with vegetables for sale was surrounded as a prodigy, and never seen except when some of the neighbouring gentlemen collected the refuse of their gardens, and sent it for general distribution; whereas now, many acres round the different towns, but particularly Douglas and Castletown, are cultivated for public use, and the markets are almost overstocked with vegetables, and the common sorts of fruit.

Another evidence to the progress of agriculture appears in the quantity of clover and grass seeds imported: at present the gross annual amount exceeds £1000 in value; twenty years past they did not reach to £20, and even within five years not to £500. In producing these various benefits, the institution of an agricultural society has been of essential service, for which measure the inhabitants are wholly indebted to Mr. Curwen, though their efforts are no longer conducted under his auspices; and it is to be feared, that they may languish in future for the want of some such spirited and experienced leader. In one of his

reports he mentions, with very natural exultation, that when he attended an annual meeting at St. John's, in 1810, the assemblage of gentlemen and farmers greatly exceeded his expectations, whilst the interest and spirit which marked the proceedings, evinced the impression that was made upon the public mind, and proved that the views of the society referred to objects connected equally with the profits of the landed proprietor, and the good of the public at large.

A very material advantage appertains to the Manx farmer, in his freedom from all poor's rates, as well as other taxes, the poor being wholly maintained by voluntary contribution. Land rent has certainly risen, particularly near the towns, to its full value; but should the present depreciation of farm produce continue, it must necessarily fall. The soil, though neither very luxuriant nor of great depth, yet makes generally a grateful return, if frequently renewed or stimulated by manure; and this operation is much facilitated by the abundance of wrack or sea weed* thrown up on the sands, which has been found for a single crop to answer every purpose produced by more substantial manures; and the easiness with which lime is procured by water carriage round the coast is highly favourable to exertion. Mr. Curwen observed with pleasure and surprise, how much the cultivation of green crop had increased between the years 1809 and 1812, when he made his last visit.

Till lately, the importation of sheep was limited to one hundred annually from England; by the interference of Mr. Curwen the number has been increased to five hundred; and he confidently asserts, that the manufacture of woollens will ere long be the staple commodity of the

* Sea weed does not answer so well in compost of soil or mould only, the decomposition being less rapid; but it is admirable with stable-dung, or even with straw, either of these promoting immediate fermentation, but in no case will it combine with lime.

island. Only one establishment for this purpose exists at present, which is conducted with skill and spirit, and I believe amply rewards the care and industry of its proprietor,* who is also a very considerable planter, and in all his undertakings exhibits a patriotic, independent, and active mind, equally beneficial to the country, of which he is a native, and honourable to himself.

The quantities of grain cultivated in the last few years have been such, as to supersede the necessity of importing that article, notwithstanding the increased population. The rate of labour is as yet very moderate, being much under that established on the opposite counties of Cumberland and Lancashire. Potation crops are now well understood; cleaning the land is very strictly attended to by many farmers, and from its obvious good consequences will doubtless soon become the general practice. Improvement of live stock has, of late, been an object of emulation amongst the graziers, and there are several dairy farms, admirably managed, in various parts of the island.

The small breed of horses, for which the Manx, in common with the out isles, was once famous, is now almost extinct; but there is no deficiency of such as answer well for purposes of husbandry, and even those for the saddle are of late much improved. But although, in the particulars I have mentioned, much has been done, it is nevertheless indisputable that much yet remains to be effected, and the impartiality I have promised demands a fair statement on both sides. One of the greatest impediments to successful exertion in agricultural pursuits, is found in the state of the public roads. In the vicinity of Douglas, and also near to Castletown and Ramsay, these have been put into a much better state than they formerly were; but in many parts of the island they are in a most deplorable condition, and sadly increase both the labour and expence of

* Mr. W. Kelly.

the farmer. The great error seems to consist in the manner repairs are attempted, which is simply by carting a few loads of stones wherever a deep hole or rut calls for such a supply, and leaving it to the action of carriages to crush or level them, instead of following the mode adopted in England of spreading and binding the solid material with a layer of earth or gravel. It is generally admitted, that the funds appropriated to the maintenance of the high roads are abundantly sufficient, if they were placed under due superintendence; but it generally happens, that the overseers are men little acquainted with the proper methods of performing their duty, and besides that, they have usually distinct occupations and private concerns, which fill up their whole time, and render it impossible they should perform their duty to the public so fully as they ought to do.

The herring fishery is another impediment to farming. At the time when an increase of hands are most wanted by the cultivator, he is left wholly to the aid he can derive from feminine assistance, by which alone he is to cut and carry in his harvest, whilst hundreds of stout young men are awaiting the arrival of the fish in listless idleness, or dissipating their *expected* gains in drunkenness; for such is the infatuation which the "herring fever" (as Mr. Curwen styles it) produces, that some weeks before the time it is expected to commence, and the whole period after it has begun, even on days when the weather or other causes prevent all possibility of fishing, they will on no account, not even for an hour, embark in any other pursuit. No one in their senses would recommend that the fishery should be relinquished altogether; on the contrary, it must be admitted, that the pursuit is a most essential benefit to the island, and causes an influx of money, which gives life to every occupation. But I am warranted, by the concurrence of the best informed persons, in saying that it is ill-conducted, and that one half the men, who are at present engaged in it, would, under proper regulations, take as much

fish as the whole number do at this time. The difference to the agriculturist of the additional hands thus obtained, at the season of harvest, is evident, as well as the increased profit to individuals, since the advance on the price of manual labour, at this season, holds out as fair a return as can be derived from the fishery, all expences and extravaganees included.

But if the male part of the population are irretrievably devoted to gathering in the harvest by sea, it is but justice to say, that the females endeavour, by the utmost industry, to supply their place on shore. Nothing can exceed the activity and cheerfulness with which they undertake and effect labours apparently exceeding their physical strength, particularly in reaping, thrashing, &c. Another great fundamental inconvenience exists in the want of an established market for disposing of farm produce. At present the grower, having no certain sale for his crops, must lose much time in seeking customers, before he can raise money for his rent or current expences; and the prices, in these cases, are too often arbitrarily regulated by the measure of his wants, rather than by the value of his commodities. Some adopt the mode of exporting their produce to Liverpool, or Whitehaven, where the returns may be more certain and prompt; but these are subject to severe drawbacks, from the risk at sea, and the heavy charges of freight and factors.

With the grazier the case is still worse: fat cattle can never be shipped without incurring great danger of deterioration from a lengthened voyage; and in the island, the consumption is too small to encourage extensive speculations in this line, nor are the butchers willing to give even such prices as their returns would fully warrant; this has been so much a subject of complaint, that some farmers have even opened shops to retail their own meat, of whom only one has found the plan either practicable or advantageous. There is no doubt, however, but a little public spirit

and unanimity would overcome this impediment, if the principal farmers would unite here, as in other places, to establish a regular market for corn and cattle: buyers would soon arrive from the opposite coasts, and then the prices also would be fixed by general agreement.

I am not aware of any other material disadvantage which the farmer has to encounter in this island, that can in any degree counterpoise the peculiar benefits held out, except one, which is indeed of serious importance, but to which I cannot help thinking the wisdom of the Manx legislature will ere long apply a sufficient remedy. I speak of the laws as they are now constituted; first, with relation to persons not natives of the land; and next, as they regard the landlord and tenant. But on this subject I shall expatiate more at large under the proper division.*

If those heroes who have depopulated nations are allowed still to occupy a distinguished place in the history of states and empires, surely, in a confined space like the Isle of Man, which is too small a theatre for magnificent actions, we may be allowed to celebrate those who have, to the extent of their power, exerted themselves to benefit and improve the little circle within their influence; and to my humble conception, there seems to be at least as much praise due to the conqueror of sterility as to the depopulator of nations. In the first class of these, coming under the former description, no one can deserve more honourable mention than the tenant of Ronaldsway, near Derby Haven, whose farm exhibits a scene of neatness and superior cultivation greatly to be admired. His vicinity to a lime-stone quarry, and the quantity of wrack deposited at his very door, are sources which, as he applies them, must produce wealth to him, and benefit to the community. Mr. Faulder is also unrivalled in the extent and excellence of his stock, and is the farmer of whom I spoke before, as

* See Laws.

having successfully undertaken to retail his own meat. From his stores Castletown is abundantly supplied with animal food. The superiority of his mode of feeding is obvious, from the article he offers to the public; and, in fact, there is so much integrity and judgment in his proceedings, as well as a spirit and activity, that all are ready to allow his success, great as it is, is only commensurate with his exertions and deserts. There are few persons, however, who could at once embrace so many objects of speculation, as are encountered by the ardent spirit of this gentleman, who, besides supplying all the bodily wants of his neighbour from his dairy, his shambles, and his granary, has actually undertaken to cultivate the minds of the rising generation; and for this purpose he has established an academy, where, under the care of a tutor, he receives about twenty pupils, besides his own numerous progeny.

One of the best dairy farms is occupied by a gentleman of the name of Dunlop, who is remarked for the uncommon beauty of his stock, the extent of his crops, and the general air of success and abundance which follows his operations.

Mr. Curwen says of the north side of the island, that it offers much the greatest facilities for farming; the ground is in a state of nature; the means of enriching it are at hand; exertion, capital, and industry, are alone wanting to cover with luxuriant crops that surface which, at present, yields little or nothing. The truth of this estimate is about to be proved. Several spirited settlers have, of late, fixed their abode in that district, and amongst them the present bishop, who takes a lively interest in all agricultural concerns; but, as yet, the improvements are too new to be entered upon record, and it is only in the neighbourhood of Castletown and Douglas that we can form an estimate of the capabilities of the soil.

Hitherto I have spoken only of persons who rent the lands of others, and consequently have a *present* advan-

tage to draw from their exertions. But there is another class lately sprung up amongst the natives, with whom profit is a subordinate consideration; and where the chief attention is fixed on ornamental husbandry amongst these, a general taste for planting seems to prevail. The seat of Major Taubman is an example very likely to have excited this spirit. The trees there of an old growth are uncommonly fine, and the whole scene, as we have before observed, forms an agreeable contrast to the barren hills by which it is surrounded.

Several other places embellish the neighbourhood of Douglas, and give fair promise of future beauty, though none, with the exception of Mona Castle, can be classed above the rate of middling gentlemen's houses in England; yet they diversify the face of the country, and their small lawns and paddocks, spotted with clumps of new planted shrubs, will soon form a very pretty scenery. It has been the work of time to efface a prejudice generally entertained, that the vicinity to the sea would be completely unfavourable to trees; but the contrary has at length been decidedly proved, wherever the experiment has been fairly made. Perhaps no kind of improvers are more easily checked than planters; their efforts must always be disinterested, since the real benefit or comfort can only be reaped by posterity; and it should, therefore, be attended with some degree of certainty, to compensate for its distance. Nor is it fair always to ascribe failures to a radical defect either in the soil or situation. Trees, injudiciously managed, either from neglect or ignorance, might equally as well perish in the finest parks in Great Britain, as on the most sterile mountain in the Isle of Man; and it is most true, that an unsuccessful attempt in a place where all eyes have been fixed on the result, with an inward inclination to believe it would not answer, has an effect to repress similar endeavours, when, if the real source of the disappointment was taken into the account, it might rather stimulate than paralyze their hopes.

It is well known in the island, that an English gentleman, of considerable property, bought an extensive tract of mountain-land in the interior, not less than fifteen hundred acres; and when he cast his eyes over the wide-spread domain, his imagination pictured such a fairy vision of beauty and fertility, as entirely overcame the sobriety of his judgment. In his first speculations, he promised himself a mansion embowered in groves, fields, white with his ever-increasing flocks, roads, rivers, canals, and bridges. He calculated not merely on supplying the wants of a paltry thirty thousand inhabitants in food and clothing, but actually extended his philanthropic views to the starving nations of the arctic circle, who were to be rescued from the dominion of want and cold with the surplus of his abundant stores.

In less time than ordinary abilities, with ordinary means, would ask to reclaim a heath or a bog, and turn them into arable and pasture land, he undertook to have forests waving, and rivers flowing, through the whole compass of his property; and no sooner had his active mind overcome one difficulty in speculation, than he conjured up others to resist and to conquer. I forbear to dwell on his proposal for importing the musk oxen, on which he expatiated at an agricultural meeting, with all the warmth of his character, as replete with offered benefits to the community, and only attended by two or three trifling obstacles, the first of which was founded in the difficulty of importing these animals, and keeping them alive when imported; the other he thought still less consequential, being merely the possibility that prejudice *might* revolt from the taste of musk beef.

Projects so patriotic and extensive deserved a better fate, and I grieve to record their evaporation in complete disappointment. The trees, it is true, were planted with an unsparing hand, and the sheep, purchased from an overflowing purse, combining the choicest breeds, selected from all parts of Great Britain, and the greatest pains

were exerted to insure their safe arrival. So far all was hope and exultation; the natives assembled in crowds to view these precious treasures—to admire the plaids of the Highland shepherds, who came from the Cheviot Hills to guard their fleecy care; and they believed the owner of such wealth and such wonders must be almost as great a man as their far-famed Prince Mananan, with his fogs and his fairies.

Whilst the summer smiled, the sheep grazed on the fragrant heath, and the young plants took root unmolested; but, alas! no sooner did winter assert his reign, than all was want and dismay; for, till the snow actually bespread the ground, the necessity of providing for such an astonishing event had never entered the thoughts of this admirable projector. For a while the animals preserved their existence by browsing on the buds of the infant plantations, and the tops of the young firs; but these were soon destroyed, and with them all hope of future shade or shelter. Next the sheep fell victims to disease; and, lastly, the promises of philanthropy, with the visions of speculative profit, all sunk together in irretrievable ruin. Happily, however, this failure, instead of annihilating the hopes of our mountain-laird, has only turned them into another channel: he is now eagerly bent on the cultivation of flax, to which his whole domain is to be subjected; and he waits only till he has tried the effect of a new invention for dressing this article, before he will erect a factory, build a town, cover the mountain with artificers, and supply all Europe with linen cloths. There is so much vivacity of genius, such a grasp of benevolence, and such genuine public spirit, in all these designs, combined as they are by the gentleman in question, with repeated acts of solid use to this community, of which he is an acknowledged benefactor, that those who witness their failure must still respect the source whence they originate; and that charity must indeed be

cold, that does not wish him success, though the faith must be strong that can hope it.

Much expectation of beneficial example was excited in the friends of Man, when Colonel Mark Wilkes, a native of the island, and a gentleman well known in the higher walks of literature, returned from the East Indies with a fortune, earned by uncommon talents judiciously applied, and promised his countrymen to devote the residue of his days to the peaceful pursuits of agriculture. Unfortunately for the Manx, his talents were too well known and appreciated to admit of this seclusion; his services were again demanded in the government of St. Helena, whither he returned in the year 1812.

Colonel Wilkes is erecting a mansion in the Isle of Man, on an extensive scale, though I cannot help thinking, if it had been conducted under his own inspection, a better taste would have been displayed, especially as the farm-houses, offices, and cottages, built by himself upon his estate, are raised on plans so chaste, as to add much to the rural beauty of the scenery, and form a decided contrast to the cumbrous mass appointed for his own future habitation. In the short space of three years, that part of the country belonging to Colonel Wilkes has been converted from a barren waste, not worth half-a-crown an acre, to luxuriant arable and pasture land, great part of it letting at £2.

There are, doubtless, many other individuals in the island, who may justly claim distinction as improvers in this valuable science, but it would be tedious to general readers to dwell longer on the subject. To sum up the whole, I believe it is universally admitted, that a great, and for the time, an astonishing progress has been made; that the approaches of insular distress are nearly fenced out; and that the few obstacles which remain must shortly give way to the awakened spirit of inquiry, industry, and emulation now prevailing in the country.

Herring Fishery, and Trade in general.

THE herring trade being the staple commodity must be first noticed. It has hitherto been considered as an established fact in natural history, that the appearance of the herring on the different coasts of Europe in the summer season was in consequence of migration. Their progress from the cold regions of the north has been detailed with singular precision; they have been marshalled in large bodies, or sent out in detachments, as the fancy or information of Zoologists dictated; but late inquirers strongly question this progress from distant parts, and rather incline to the belief that the herring, like the mackarel, is in reality at no great distance during the winter months from those shores which it frequents in the season of spawning, inhabiting only the deep recesses of the ocean, or plunging itself in the soft mud at the bottom; but that at the vernal season it quits the deeper parts, and approaches the shallows in order to deposit its spawn in proper situations.

The reasons given by Dr. Block are chiefly these: that it is physically impossible this fish should traverse so many thousands of miles in so short a time; that in one or other part of Europe herrings may be found all through the year: on the coasts of Swedish Pomerania from January to March; in the Baltic sea, and many other places, from March to November; about Gothland, and also on the coast of France, from October to December. The fishermen of Scarborough scarcely ever throw a net in any season of the year without finding herrings among their fish.

But by whatever means, or from whatever cause, they are conducted by the hand of Providence to the different coasts on which they are periodically seen, no where can their arrival be welcomed with greater avidity than at the

Isle of Man, where a new spirit seems to inform the population as soon as the fishery commences. Between four and five hundred boats, usually of sixteen tons burthen each, and without decks, are employed in this service. These are manned by two seamen and four countrymen, who come from their inland habitations at this season, which commences about the end of July, and continues through the month of October. The nets are buoyed up by inflated bags of dog-skin. The produce of a boat is commonly divided into nine shares, one of which appertains to each fisherman, the owner of the boat takes two, and the proprietor of the nets one.

The fishing is very frequently interrupted: the least appearance of a change in the weather hurries them instantly to port. Indeed, the boats are by no means calculated for encountering a storm, or even a severe gale; and some deplorable accidents, which have happened in former seasons, are still remembered as warnings against encountering similar dangers. Nor are they solely restrained by fear from constant exertion, dissipation being quite as frequently a bar to their pursuits. A very successful night is almost sure to be followed by drunkenness, and consequent inability to attempt a repetition of their good fortune. They are also scrupulously careful not to leave the harbour on Saturday or Sunday evening. Tradition has preserved a story, that in former times they had a custom only to except Saturday from the pursuit of business, but that with the setting sun of the following evening it was the practice to put to sea. On one of these occasions a tremendous gale, accompanied by thunder and lightning, signals of divine vengeance, dispersed the boats, a great part of which were speedily buried in the waves, the remainder took shelter in the recess of an impending cliff, and before morning were overwhelmed by its fall. The warning has been accepted by the inhabitants of Man, who in this respect, at least, are careful not to intrench upon the Sabbath-day.

The view of this little fleet at sea on a calm day is highly beautiful. They always throw their nets in the night; and on their return to the harbour next morning, children and women are employed to convey the fish to the several receiving houses, where the operation of salting is immediately performed, as much of the excellence of the herring is thought to depend on the speedy performance of this process. The Dutch and the Scotch, (in imitation of them,) have adopted the practice of salting the fish on board the vessels, and of throwing overboard at sunrise all that remain fresh; but in this island they proceed on the old plan. The fish are rubbed as soon as brought in, and left in heaps till the following morning, when they are regularly packed in barrels, with a layer of salt between each row. Those designed for red herrings are differently treated; they are first piled up with layers of salt for two or three days, after which they are washed and hung up by the gills upon small rods, placed in extensive houses built for the purpose, where the rods are suspended in rows from the roof to within eight feet of the floor; underneath are kindled wood fires, which are kept constantly burning till the fish are sufficiently dry and smoked, after which they are barreled for exportation.

The number of herrings annually cured in the island is subject to considerable variation, but is calculated at an average of between eight and ten millions. The present price of fresh herrings varies from ten to twenty for a shilling; and for those that are cured, two guineas the barrel is the average price. A barrel contains about six hundred.

Formerly premiums were given to the owners of successful boats, and certain bounties upon all that were exported to foreign lands; but both are discontinued.

The chief exports from the island, besides herrings, are strong linens and sail-cloth, but in no large quantities, there being but one factory for making these articles, and that on a small scale. Considerable supplies of grain have

of late years been sent to Liverpool, with butter, eggs, fowls, bacon, and some other trifling matters. There is, as I observed before, a manufactory of woollens, but these are eagerly bought up for home consumption as fast as they can be finished. Some years back an attempt was made to establish a mill for cotton spinning; but after the erection of the works, the proprietors made a rather late discovery, that the exportation of the article to Great Britain was prohibited, and after some ineffectual endeavours to convert the works to other purposes, the whole were suffered to go to ruin: nor do I imagine that manufactories on a large scale can ever answer here under present circumstances. England usually allows a large drawback on manufactured goods, which in their raw state are subjected to heavy duties, in order to preserve her trade in foreign markets. The population of the Isle of Man, considering the fishery, is not at all too abundant for the existing occupations of the country; or if it were, the vicinity to the manufacturing counties of England, where labour is always rewarded with high wages, leaves no chance of competition for any insular establishments, except for the internal supply.

For some years past the inland trade has been much more flourishing than it now is. Since the non-protection act there are, particularly in Douglas, more shops than customers; but it is to be hoped this will revive again, or indeed very serious consequences may be apprehended. At all times the balance of trade is greatly against the island; but this has hitherto been counterpoised by the income brought in from other countries through the medium of persons settling here; and now that this source is closed up, the distress for want of a due circulation is very severely felt. Gold coin is hardly ever seen, silver is also very scarce, the copper being peculiar to the country is more stationary: fourteen-pence Manx makes one shilling British. To obviate this great want of a currency, the

merchants and shopkeepers issue cards of five shillings, two shillings and sixpence, and one shilling each, nominal value; these are in the form of promissory notes, payable on demand in British coin; but they are found to be attended with so many inconveniences, and such great risk to the public, that it is at present under contemplation of the legislature to make some regulations on this subject, and probably before long the British government will grant an issue of Manx coinage.

Some of the principal merchants in Douglas also circulate guinea notes; but the only regular bank established in the island is at Castletown, and the notes and cards of this house, from its known stability, obtain a natural and decided preference. The whole establishment is conducted on a scale of liberality very honourable to the proprietors and advantageous to the public, though it is often regretted that the gentlemen concerned in it have not established a branch at Douglas, where the great commerce is carried on for the whole island.

The imports are all kinds of manufactured goods, chiefly from Liverpool; coal from thence, and from the ports in Cumberland: wine from Oporto and Guernsey, from whence also they get geneva and brandy: rum must pass through an English or Scotch port. Since the year 1765, the contraband trade has been nearly annihilated; the little that is now done in that way is supposed to be by coasting vessels; but the custom-house department is so admirably conducted under the vigilant superintendence of the present collector, that it is generally believed the revenue is quite as well protected as at any of the ports of Great Britain.

The shops in the different towns have much the appearance of general storehouses, each one exhibiting an aggregate of articles not always calculated for combination; nor can I give the dealers in general, particularly the natives, the praise of civility, or a desire to accommodate.

Persons accustomed to the obliging manners of English tradesmen, are in general much disgusted with the air of inattention and disrespect so prevalent here, especially in those who have realized some property, or as it is usually termed, got a little above the world.

Some of the existing laws* are considered as great obstacles to traffic with other countries, or even to an extended trade amongst themselves. On one hand, the stranger is exposed to imprisonment and sequestration of property for the smallest sum, whilst the native is protected from incarceration for the largest. The want of regular bankrupt laws also tends to cripple the efforts of the trader; and in many respects the fundamentals of commerce are neither understood nor acted upon, especially in what relates to credit and punctuality in money dealings: but all these defects, I think, are in a course of rapid improvement. Every day brings with it a visible enlargement of ideas, and as the disadvantages are felt they will be overcome.

The manufactories for internal consumption, besides that already mentioned for woollen cloths, are breweries, soap and candle manufactories, and tanneries. The brewer and malster are combined in one, and all these being free from duties of every kind, must necessarily leave an open field for great profits, especially as the prices of the articles manufactured are nearly as high as in England, where they are subject to such heavy charges, and in consequence one would expect that large fortunes would be speedily realized by those entering on these concerns; but I believe, especially of late years, that the numbers engaged are rather too many for the consumption, and the payments of the publican and others too irregular to admit of the full advantages to be expected.

There are few shops, and not many houses occupied by

* See Laws.

the lower orders, where spirits are not sold either in large or small quantities. The smuggling trade introduced habits of intoxication, which still prevail to an extent the most lamentable; and nothing but a heavy duty, producing a consequent advance of price, will probably counteract this evil tendency.

Most of the small farmers and cottagers still spin their own wool and flax, and get them made into cloth by village weavers, there being generally one or two looms in every parish. These practices are favourable to economy, and encourage domestic industry, whilst they preserve the simplicity of the peasants.

The Revenue—Exports and Imports.

THE revenue under the lords, proprietors, arose from a duty on exports and imports, a rental on all lands, amounting to £1400 Manx currency, from manorial rights and fines, a few fees, and certain prerogatives, by which the lords laid claim to all waifs and strays. In the time of the last Earl of Derby, the customs were estimated at £2500 per annum. The public expenditure at the same period was £700. In the course of the last century smuggling had increased so much, that the annual returns of trade were supposed to be at least £350,000, whilst the value of seizures was not more than £10,000, so that the profits to those engaged in it must have been enormous; and the Duke of Athol having a small duty on imports from this and other sources, procured for his share an annual surplus of nearly £6000 British. An abstract of

the clear revenue derived from the island by the lord, for ten years previous to the revestment, states the average yearly amount to be £7200.

The revenues given up to Great Britain were only those of the customs and herring dues, amounting to £6547, for which the sum of £70,000 was allowed. After the revestment, all the old duties were repealed, and the following new ones levied.

To be imported from England only, and there entitled to the usual Drawback, to be landed at Douglas only, in the Isle of Man.

	DUTY.		QUANTITY.
	s.	d.	
British spirits	1	0 per gal. . .	50,000 gal.
Rum . . .	1	6	30,000
Bohea Tea .	1	0 per lb. . .	20,000 lb.
Green Tea .	1	6	5,000
Coffee . . .	0	9	5,000
Tobacco . .	0	2	120,000
Coals . . .	0	3 per chaldron.	

From Foreign Ports.

Hemp
Iron
Deal Boards
Timber
} at 5 per cent. ad valorem.

French wine £4 per tun.

Any other wine £2 per tun.

Foreign corn, having been first imported into England, and had a bounty allowed, 10 per cent. ad valorem.

Any goods, wares, or merchandize, not specified in this Act, imported from England or Ireland, 2 per cent. ad valorem.

Flax Flax seed Yarn Ashes Fish and flesh Corn	except only from Great Britain.	Duty free.

Linen cloth of British or Irish fabric Hemp Hemp seed Horses and cattle Utensils and implements of agriculture Bricks and tiles Trees, sea shells, and lime Soaper's waste Packthread and cordage Salt Boards Timber Hoops	Produce or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland in English vessels only.	Duty free.

Colonial goods entitled to a bounty on importation into England. English or colonial iron, in rods or bars, from Great Britain in British vessels.	Duty free, but subject to entry at the custom-house, under a penalty of 15 per cent. ad valorem.

All linens to be landed in the Isle of Man must be exported from Great Britain or Ireland.

Glass and woollen goods from Great Britain.

Tea, coffee, spirits, tobacco, glass, coals, silks, salt, and wine, must, on no pretence, be exported from the island.

It being found that, in consequence of the suppression of the contraband trade, the harbours had been neglected and become ruinous, the old duties were repealed, and the following levied:

Harbour Dues.

	PER ANNUM. s.	d.	
Herring boats	10	0	Not a new duty, but a modification of the old one.
Any ships belonging to his majesty's subjects in ballast, only putting into the harbour	0	1½	per ton.
The same with cargo	0	2	
The same, if repaired there, an additional sum	0	1	
Foreign ships in ballast	0	2	
Ditto with cargo, not breaking bulk	0	3	
Ditto breaking bulk, additional duty	0	2	
Ditto anchoring in any of the bays	2	6	
On all spirits and wines imported, per tun	2	6	
Tobacco, per cwt.	1	6	
Tea, per cwt.	2	0	
Coffee, per cwt.	1	0	

Foreign goods not specified, 10 per cent. ad valorem.

British goods not specified, salt excepted, 5 per cent. ditto.

At this time the expenditure of the island exceeded the revenues, and in consequence the following additional duties were imposed in 1780.

Rum, 6d. per gallon, making the whole duty 2s.

Tobacco, 1d. per pound, ditto 2d.

Hemp, iron, deal, boards, and timber, from foreign parts, 5 per cent. ad valorem, making the whole 7½ per cent.

French wines, £4 per tun additional.

Other wine, £2 ditto, ditto.

The duties on tea and coffee were withdrawn, and the following substituted.

	s.	d.	
Bohea Tea	0	6	per lb.
Green Tea	1	0	
Coffee	0	4	

The allowance of British spirits being more than the demand, were reduced from fifty thousand gallons to forty thousand; and the allowance of rum increased from thirty thousand to forty thousand gallons, thirty thousand to be imported from England, and ten thousand from Scotland.

The importation of wine in any vessel of less value than seventy tons burthen was prohibited.

No goods, fresh fish excepted, were allowed to be exported from the Isle of Man without a warrant from the custom-house.

In 1790 the importation of British spirits was prohibited, but instead of them were allowed, ten thousand gallons of brandy, subject to a duty of 3s. per gallon; ten thousand ditto of geneva, ditto 3s. ditto.

To be shipped from England to Douglas only, in casks containing not less than one hundred gallons.

The annual allowance of tobacco having been reduced from one hundred and twenty thousand pounds weight to forty thousand, was increased to sixty thousand.

All wine was subjected to an additional duty of £8 per tun, making, with the former duty, £16 for French wines, and £12 for other wines, and to be landed at Douglas only.

Hops, entitled on exportation from England to a drawback of the whole duty, were made subject to a duty of 1½d. per lb.

Since this period little variation in the duties have been made. All goods of limited quantity must be imported under license. The collector of customs is obliged to give one month's notice of the expiration of licenses, and take in for fourteen days all petitions for new ones. If such of the petitioners as are natives require goods equal to the

quantity limited, they have the preference over foreigners; if they require a greater quantity, the licenses are granted in rateable proportions. The counterfeiting a license subjects the offender to a fine of five hundred pounds; and taking a fee for one, subjects the collector or officer to a penalty of fifty pounds.

From the sale of the island to the year 1792, the expenditure was fully equal to the revenue; at that time commissioners were sent over to examine into the state of the country, as well as to ascertain whether certain allegations of the Duke of Athol were well or ill-founded. In the course of their inquiry, they discovered that the custom-house department was in a state of entire disorganization: their memorial on this subject states, that the system of management is ill-digested, incomplete, and unfit; of which, amongst others, they adduce the following proofs. That persons, wholly ignorant of the duties and practices of their several departments, are appointed to stations of the first importance, without any previous instruction or preparation.

That even the obvious precaution of furnishing them with written or printed rules for their government had been neglected, nor was any source pointed out whence information could be derived, or any security given or required, for the due performance of the duties of the office, or the proper application of the trust reposed in them; no inquiry was ever instituted as to character, so as to exclude those who had been formerly in the practice of the illicit *trade*, nor was there any check or control among the different officers, by which error or misconduct might be discovered or punished.

It was also, at that time, the practice to bestow various offices (not easily combined) on one person. The receiver-general, though an officer of the highest authority, had never been in the island from the time he took the *oaths*, when he remained a few days, leaving the whole execution

of the duties to a deputy, who was, as he acknowledged, completely without any instructions to define the objects, nature, and extent of his office. His practice was to receive the duties, and transmit them through the agency of a lawyer in London to his principal, and he did not actually know where this last resided, or how he might make application to him directly; nay, that he had even at different times required directions in his proceedings through the agent, but had received neither instructions nor answer.

Various other instances of neglect, equally striking with these, are pointed out, and strongly reprobated in the Report; and, as it appears, with the fullest effect, for very soon after the whole system was revised and altered, most of the existing officers displaced or otherways provided for, and the present establishment arranged, to the entire extirpation of the illicit trade in the island. The office of receiver-general was given to the collector of customs at Douglas, and the whole revenue of the island placed under his superintendence and control.

This extensive power, which he has now held many years, is universally allowed to be exercised with the strictest integrity as well as moderation; and the gentleman who holds it, though closely connected with the house of Athol, is pronounced, by the unanimous concurrence of all parties, to be eminently qualified by principle, knowledge, and prudence, for the station he occupies. No stronger proof of the excellence of the plans now adhered to can be adduced, than the improved state of the revenue. According to the report before quoted, the amount of custom dues in 1790 was £3006 8s. 11d. the expenditure same year £3272 2s. 2d.; whereas, in 1792, Mr. Pitt stated in the House of Commons, that the revenue of the island had risen to the gross sum of £12,000 per annum! at which time a farther compensation of one-fourth of this amount was granted to the Duke of Athol, and his heirs for ever.

The public services, for which internal taxes, continual

or occasional, are levied, are of four sorts: Building or repairing of churches, building of bridges, making and keeping high-roads in order, and the maintenance of the clergy. In respect to churches, each parish is obliged to bear its own burthen; not, however, to the extent of building, without a special act of Tynwald: but for repairs, the parishioners are convened by the churchwardens, and the money required levied upon the inhabitants in proportion to their rental.

The same mode is observed for building or repairing bridges. The high-road fund is derived from a tax upon every retailer of ale or spirits; a small rate upon lands and houses, leaving an option to pay in money or service; a tax upon dogs; and all fines incurred for public offences, or contempt of court: by these means a sum of about £1000 per annum is obtained for making and repairing the roads.

The clergy derive their income in part from the tithes, which are divided into three portions, one belonging to the lord, one to the bishop, and the other to the parochial minister. The incumbents have also a glebe, and a royal bounty of £100 per annum, to divide amongst the poorest, which was obtained by Bishop Barrow in the reign of Charles II. One-third of his share of the impropriations was purchased by the same worthy prelate from the lord proprietor, by collections made through his interference, which were settled to increase the revenues of the church, and for the establishment of a free-school at Castletown.

The tithes are divided into great and small; these are sometimes taken in kind, but more frequently commuted, and hitherto upon very easy terms. There was formerly a tithe upon all fresh fish, upon ale brewed, and also a tithe of twopence annually upon every man engaged in any occupation, though he only exercised his calling three times in the year.

The Laws—House of Keys—Civil Officers, Juries, &c.

THE laws of the Isle of Man are, at this time, a constant subject of insular dispute; by one party, they are represented as a mass of folly and corruption; by the other, as models of the most perfect jurisprudence. The truth, probably, in this, as in other speculative cases, lies in a medium between the two opinions.

From the time of the revestment, the legislation, being protected by that act from all foreign interference, few corrections or alterations have taken place. The ruling powers, divided by internal and personal contention, have suffered the public good to lie dormant. Even in the boasted constitution of Great Britain, the watchful eye of legislative wisdom is ever open to discern and correct mistakes or encroachments: how, then, can it be supposed that a code, springing out of feudal customs and an arbitrary government, should require neither amelioration nor improvement in the long interval of sixty years? for, if nothing else demanded inquiry in all that time, still the persons employed in the exercise of power should have been subjected to some inquiry as to their proceedings; and if not the principle, at least the practice, of the legislature demanded investigation.

For a small population thinly scattered over the island, without manufactories or commerce, few laws were requisite, and the memory might be supposed fully competent to record all that was absolutely necessary.

Except the natives, none had any interest or concern in them. In such a community, whose time was wholly occupied in the provision of mere necessaries, fraud, force, or avarice, had no latitude for disturbing the peace of

society; and the trifling differences which sprung up, were willingly referred to the deemster, and settled by the traditionary laws, or, perhaps, more frequently by his supreme will and pleasure, without reference to precedents of any sort.

So little form was used in those appeals, that, according to the statute-book, the deemster's presence alone, whether in the field or house, walking or riding, constituted a court; and the plaintiff meeting his opponent, when this officer was in view, might drag him *vi et armis* to an instant tribunal, and setting his foot upon his enemy's, there hold him till the cause of quarrel was decided. In such a proceeding, depending more on strength of body or lungs, than on questions of right and wrong, there was certainly more brevity than dignity; but one thing seems to have been well established, and that was, the infallibility of the judgment, which could come to such post-haste decisions, and give them the respectable name of laws.

The office of deemster is of much greater antiquity than the origin of the house of keys, and I conclude, was derived from that of the chief druid, who, in the earliest times, and in all countries, where this sect flourished, combined the rank of priest and magistrate. But the council of wise men is also of druidical institution, they were formerly called *taxi axi*, from the Celtic word *Teag asag*, which, according to Dr. Campbell, implies druidism, or elders and senators. In more modern times, this assembly has taken the name of the Keys, which last term Bishop Wilson ascribes to their knowledge of the jurisprudence of the country, and their unlocking the difficulties thereof at their pleasure.

The numbers of this council were not always twenty-four, they had been referred to as a legislative power when only twelve: in one of the old statutes I find it also recorded, *that their existence was wholly at the will of the lord, without whose consent none are to be.* This decision,

which is stated to have been from the deemsters, in answer to a question of Sir John Stanley, second lord of Man, was exceedingly ill received; and though it was recorded in the statute-book, and consequently left there for law, was yet virtually rescinded almost as soon as made. The original form of election is no where mentioned, but immediately after the above declaration, such was the fermant it excited, that it was thought prudent on the part of the deputy-governor Byron, to grant the people a share in the election. Accordingly, in 1422, he sent out his precept to the six sheadings, directing them severally to elect six men, out of which six he chose four to represent their respective districts, and these made up the twenty-four keys, by whose advice and concurrence at that time, several laws and regulations were made.

Why this mode of election has not been preserved, or how the people have lost a right so invaluable as that of choosing their own representatives, is not explained; custom has, however, completely abrogated this privilege, and the *practice* now established is, that when a vacancy happens, the remaining members elect two persons, one of whom receives the approbation of the governor, and thenceforward retains his seat for life, unless he vacates by voluntary resignation, accepting a place in council, or is expelled by the vote of the majority for some high crime or misdemeanor. What mode would be adopted, if the governor disapproved of both the nominations, is not settled, nor, I believe, has the case ever occurred. The keys cannot assemble without a summons from the governor, and his mandate dissolves the sitting without delay or demur. This body, when collected, with the lord proprietor, his deputy, and council, constitute a Tynwald court, whose accordance is absolutely essential to every legislative act; but since the resetting of the island in the crown of Great Britain, before it can obtain the force of a law, every decree must be confirmed by his Majesty, and

ultimately proclaimed in the English and Manx languages before the people at the Tynwald hill.

In the separate meetings of the keys, the number of thirteen is required to form a house. They elect their own speaker, who holds his office for life; and they decide by a majority. The qualifications of a member are to be of full age, that is, twenty-one years, and to possess landed property in the island. Non-residence, or even being a foreigner, are no impediments to election. Their privileges were of more value in the feudal times than at present, they being exempt from all duties and services to the lord, and free to kill game in any part of the country. To charge a key with misconduct in the performance of his duty, subjects the offender to a penalty, and loss of ears. This body have always possessed the confidence of the people, and though self-elected, seem never to have abused their power. The office is attended with much trouble, and no emolument; but it is every day rising in consideration, and though, formerly, little respect attended the individuals, at this time, a member of the keys in the Isle of Man is regarded by his compatriots as a representative of the Commons is in Great Britain. This increase of consequence takes date since the revestment, and is chiefly founded on the systematic opposition shown by this house to every act or proposition of the Duke of Athol, by which they soothe and augment the aversion of the people to that nobleman, and keep alive, often without a shadow of reason, the suspicion entertained of his motives and designs.

A late writer has observed, "that were the keys once corrupt, they must continue so for ever, the very nature of their constitution being such that it could never be purified:" but, with submission to this author, I think differently. Corruption in a small legislative body, like the one in question, would carry its remedy with it. A few acts of oppression, in the improved state of Manx population, would awaken them to an inquiry into their rights; and,

it is more than probable, would restore the original form of democratic election.

The chief civil officers are the governor, and lieutenant-governor, one of them being chancellor ex officio; the two deemsters, or judges, one presiding in the southern, the other in the northern division (these must necessarily be natives;) the water-bailiff, the high bailiffs, one in each town; the coroners, who are six in number, and presides separately over the six sheadings or districts, into which the island is divided, each having under him a deputy-coroner, or lockman.

The council consists of the following persons: the bishop, the receivers-general, the water-bailiff, attorney-general, clerk of the rolls, and the archdeacon.

All the lands of Man formerly belonged to the lord, and the occupiers could neither sell nor alienate without his consent; they were termed the lord's tenants, and were subject to the payment of a fine or rental, which was fixed by the setting quest from year to year. This system had been somewhat relaxed, and the holders came to be regarded as customary tenants, and some of the estates to descend from father to heir for a time, which had given an idea of individual property. But, in 1648, we find an attempt was made by James, Earl of Derby, to seize all the tenures into his own hands; and to effect this, he offered, on a quiet surrender, that he would make a grant to each individual of a lease for three lives, or twenty-one years. This proceeding gave rise to a warm contest, but the dispute remained unsettled till 1703, when it was finally arranged by the interference of Bishop Wilson, and the strenuous representations of the keys. At this time (in 1703,) commissioners were appointed, by whom the lord's dues were incontrovertibly fixed, and the inheritance of their property assured to the people, on the payment of the rents and fines so settled. In 1777, another act was passed by Lord Derby, confirming the first act of settlement, by

which, estates on the death of the owner were declared to be the right of the eldest son, or if no son, of the eldest daughter. A man cannot devise an estate of inheritance otherwise than in the direct line, but purchased property he may dispose of by will. If he dies intestate, the whole falls to his heirs at law, saving the widow's right, which is half the real and personal estate of her husband, whether he make a will or not. Of the entailed estate, the widow only enjoys her share for life, which afterwards reverts to the heir; but of personal property, she has power to devise one half by will amongst any of her children, even those of a former marriage, and in the life-time of her husband; and these children can claim their respective shares on the death of either parent, as soon as the said children attain the age of fourteen years.

The whole island was formerly divided into six hundred quarter lands, but at present the number is seven hundred and fifty-nine; all other estates appear to be allotments out of, or encroachments upon these. All wrecks belong to the lord, if not claimed within a year and a day. Mines also are his by his prerogative. Game belongs exclusively to the lord, and the laws were formerly very severe against encroachers, but these have now become nearly obsolete.

Besides the trial by jury in common law and criminal cases, there are various juries impannelled on other occasions. In cases of loss, trespass, or robbery, previous to any other proceedings, juries of inquiry must be summoned, who have power to examine all parties who may, by possibility, have knowledge of the facts to be inquired into; they may even tender the oath to the suspected person, and their refusal to accept this purgation is considered as presumptive proof of guilt. Upon the verdict of this first jury, subsequent process is founded.

Fodder juries are also a very curious institution. If any person gives notice to the coroner that a gentleman, farmer, or cottager, has a larger stock of cattle than his

apparent means can support, he is obliged to summon four men of the same parish, three of whom must be farmers, who are to make inspection what grass or fodder the said persons have provided for their cattle, as well in summer as in winter, and to make a true report in writing to the next court; and if it should appear that such provision is not sufficient for the cattle, an order is granted to the coroner to sell off so much of the stock as exceeds the quantum of provender, and to deliver the price to the owner. The law even enjoins the said juries to take special care that the needful fodder is actually in present possession, and by no means to admit the evasive excuse of a dependence for supply upon others.

Marriages may be contracted by banns or license: aliens cannot marry till they have been three months resident in the island. Marriage is, in fact, considered here as an act of partnership, giving no exclusive right to property. A man who marries an heiress, enjoys only one-half of her lands during his life: if she dies without children, and he continues unmarried, the same law invests the female with equal rights as to property of inheritance during her widowhood; but of his acquired possessions, she has power, even during his life, to devise one-half to any child of her own, and this will is in force immediately on her decease. No man or woman, being married, can sell or lease but by mutual consent. If a man marries a second wife, having issue by his first, the second takes only one-fourth part of his estate of inheritance; nor can any will or deed of gift invalidate these singular rights, except by the joint act of both parties; yet the husband incurs the same liability respecting his wife's debts as in England.

In the Isle of Man, children arrive at the age of majority when they have completed their fourteenth year, so far as relates to personal property, to which they then become entitled, and are also liable to debts thenceforward contracted by them; but must attain the age of twenty-one

before they can enter in possession of landed estates, or make any disposition by way of sale.

A marriage contracted between the parties, within three years of the birth of a child, renders such child legitimate, if the character of the female is otherwise unimpeached. A woman convicted of adultery loses her wife's or widow's right, and is entitled only to such alimony as the ecclesiastical court thinks proper to allow.

Executors may proceed in the ecclesiastical court for the immediate recovery of debts due to deceased persons; and their decree having once passed, and the order given out, subjects the defendant to instant imprisonment, till satisfaction is made by payment in full. On the other hand, no claim can be enforced against the effects of the dead under a year and a day; or if they had any money transactions out of the island, the law allows to the heirs or executors the extended term of three years, for the settlement of the whole concerns.

The mode formerly adopted for making proof of a demand for or against the estate of the defunct, was very curious: the person charging or denying such debt was obliged to visit the grave of the deceased, with two witnesses, and stretching himself at length on the same, with an open Bible on his breast, he there pronounced a solemn oath, which, in the absence of other proofs, was accepted as positive confirmation or denial of the matter in dispute: but this process was abolished by Bishop Barrow.

As to the penal laws,* their defects being admitted, and the code at this time under the actual consideration of the legislature for the express purpose of amendment and elucidation, it would be useless to enlarge on their present state; and it is to be hoped, when the promised alterations do take place, a stricter police will be established, and the impunity now afforded to crimes, for want of definition in

* For the new Penal Statutes, see Appendix, No. 7.

the existing power, will no longer remain a just subject of complaint.

There is one particular, which seems to have escaped observation, and yet calls imperiously for attention, which is, the manner of conducting coroner's inquests, in cases of sudden deaths, and the slovenly style in which they proceed when summoned.

To prove that this charge is not unfounded, I shall select two anecdotes from the number that have fallen under my observation. In one case, the captain of a Norwegian vessel, after receiving a considerable sum of money, was found dead without any previous illness! The cause assigned was intoxication, but attended by circumstances so suspicious as at any rate to demand a strict investigation; great part of his money had disappeared, and the body immediately after death turned entirely black, and exhibited many symptoms inducing a belief that poison had been administered. On this matter no inquiry took place, or if any, certainly not with the assistance of any medical man. The other affair was yet more extraordinary. A man, wholly unknown, being found in the river apparently drowned, an inquest was taken, and the verdict to this effect being given, he was consigned to the care of the undertaker, when, behold, on stripping the body, it appeared that his throat had been cut, and the neckcloth replaced, all which, with perfect sang-froid, the foreman of the jury declared, he had no doubt the deceased had done himself; so that there was no need to revise the former decision, on account of these new circumstances.

Comments on the State of the Laws, with some Cases adduced in Proof of the Assertion that they require Amelioration.

I AM aware, that the contents of this chapter will be so entirely local, that it will afford little to amuse, or interest, the general reader; but as the facts I mean to state have recently occurred, and the ill consequences attending the abuses of the laws, which I am about to point out, are felt or acknowledged by all, I think it my duty, as an impartial historian, to hold them up to public view, in the belief which I entertain, that this negligence of fundamental principles has, perhaps, originated in the want of a fair statement, or it may be in the very nature of the society, as it was constituted previous to the non-protection act.

I am very ready to admit, that whilst impunity from foreign claims existed, the frequent resort of unprincipled and extravagant persons demanded an extraordinary degree of coercion in the debtor and creditor laws of the island, to protect the natives from encroachment and injury; and that it was, under these circumstances, equal justice to grant immunities to one class, and hold up severe penalties against the other: but now that this protection is done away, and that both the trade and agriculture of the island loudly demand an increased population to revive their drooping vigour, it must be an obvious policy to grant equal privileges to the settler and the native. None are likely to visit this place in future but persons of moderate fortunes, and consequently of habits consonant to their property. If such are to be exposed to the harassing effects of the laws, as they now stand, a very short trial would suffice to make them seek a retreat elsewhere. To illustrate my assertion, I need only adduce a few instances,

which are recent and too well known in the island to be controverted.

And first, in matters of debtor and creditor, the Manx laws, with regard to a native, prohibit personal imprisonment, but with great justice subject the whole property of the debtor to the claims of his creditor. This exemption from personal suffering has certainly, in some cases, been diverted to purposes of fraud; the native has been known to make false assignments, or to turn his effects into cash, and then, under cover of the law, to set his creditors at defiance. But as no human institutions are perfect, the impossibility of entirely guarding against the ingenuity of knavery, can never be brought forward to abrogate a principle, which the enlarged views of society causes at this time to be adopted into the jurisprudence of nearly all trading countries; and it is probable, a modification of the bankrupt laws of England would be the best defence against the frauds complained of. But this it is not my concern to determine; all I have to do is to point out the errors that exist, and leave the legislature in its wisdom to correct them.

With regard to strangers, as our fellow subjects from Great Britain and Ireland are invidiously termed, the case is wholly different; actions on a simple affidavit of debt subjects the person to incarceration, and the effects to sequestration; and that, not merely to the value demanded, but the law, as it now stands, authorizes the constable to take possession of *all* the property of the person arrested, to hold it till the question of right is decided, and then to sell, not to the amount of the debt only, but the words of the statute are, "that he is to sell the whole effects, and first paying a year's rent if due, and the servants' wages for the same time, then to satisfy the creditor with all costs and charges, and *afterwards* to deliver the overplus to the right owner." No words can be requisite to point out the injustice of such a system, by which, on a disputed

account, a person might be thrown into prison, his trade ruined, his effects wasted, and his family starved, whilst the matter was under discussion; and which, according to law, cannot be decided under four months; and if, on the issue, the creditor only succeeds in establishing a small part of his demand, before the sufferer can be released, he must wait the sale of property, ruined, perhaps, by mismanagement, or, it is not unlikely, remain for life in prison, on a deficiency created by the measures adopted against him. Another strong feature appears in the principle on which bail is conducted. The law obliges the stranger who wishes to contest an unjust demand, to give *Manx* bail; and, as if this was not throwing sufficient difficulty in the way, it also provides, that such bail becomes to all intents and purposes liable for so much of the debt as, on investigation, shall be found due to the claimant, from which liability he is not exonerated, as in England, by the surrender of the debtor to gaol.

But as facts speak more forcibly than arguments, I shall adduce some recent occurrences in illustration of my statement. In one case an English farmer having given offence to a native with whom he had been in habits of strict intimacy, he was arrested without any previous notice, or even the formality of demanding a settlement. The demand, on which the action was grounded, originated in a running account between the parties, and the real balance due was a mere trifle. The action, however, was taken out for the full sum that appeared on the books of the plaintiff; and as he was a man of extensive connexions, and the other a stranger, no one chose to offend the native by becoming bail, and consequently the farmer, who was also an innkeeper, was hurried to prison, his farm-work stopped, his house shut up, and all his affairs thrown into confusion, as indeed was the design of the plaintiff, whose object was to harass, and, if possible, ruin his adversary; and although after six months' incarceration he was released upon bail,

and that finally a judgment was given, reducing the demand of his adversary more than two-thirds, yet was this tardy and insufficient act of justice a very poor recompence to a man, who returned, to find his farm unseeded, his stock and crops wasted, his trade fallen into other hands, and his whole affairs in a state of irretrievable ruin, though at the moment of his arrest all had been prosperous and easy. Can it be wondered at, that his spirits sunk under the affliction, and in a short time he fell a victim to the malice of his persecutor.

Another, and somewhat similar instance, occurred in the town of Douglas, only that in this case the misfortune resulted purely from the state of the laws, without premeditation or design. A petty brewer was arrested and imprisoned for a demand of £140, by the administrators of a deceased merchant, who founded their charge, as they themselves acknowledged, simply on a conjecture that a quantity of barley, of which no account was to be found in the books of the deceased, must have been sold by him to this brewer, *because* they were known to have dealings together, and *because* the said brewer was believed to be of a character likely to take advantage of any neglect or omission on the part of the merchant, in order to evade payment. On no better grounds than these, this action was maintained through four months, during which the man lay in prison, his wife and child were reduced to absolute want! his stock of beer entirely spoiled! and his trade, depending wholly on his personal exertions, completely annihilated. At the end of that time it turned out, that the only claim which could be proved against him was for £3. And the only justification attempted to be set up, in extenuation of proceedings so harsh and oppressive, was founded on the previous character of the sufferer; an apology which can never be admitted as sufficient, since it is obvious, that what was done in this case might just as well occur again to any other person, at the pleasure of a

vindictive creditor, or indeed of no creditor at all; and assuredly to sequester effects upon a doubtful point, to deprive a family of support, and subject property to arbitrary removal and injury, as well as to detain the body of the debtor, is utterly inconsistent with all the principles of justice!

But that such, notwithstanding, is the law of the land, I have the authority of one of the highest legal officers to assert. A question having been submitted to him, in the case of a person incarcerated for a debt of two hundred pounds, (the debtor having effects on the island in farm produce and stock to at least the value of £1200,) whether his family might subtract so much from the bulk of grain and other articles as would support them till the matter came to a decision? The answer to which was a positive and unqualified negative, with a declaration, that pending the question nothing must be touched, the whole being virtually under arrest, and subjected to the demand.

Unreasonable as these proceedings may appear, they are yet exceeded by the existing law, or perhaps I should speak more accurately if I was to say, the existing practice, between landlord and tenant: to which, however, both natives and strangers are equally liable. A landlord, immediately on payment of one year's rent, or within fourteen days after it becomes due, can arrest the property on the premises for the ensuing year. This is done by the coroner for that sheading, who takes a jury of four persons to value the effects; and as the law provides, that if such effects when sold do not realize the valuation, the said jury are compellable to pay for them at the prices affixed, it may therefore easily be imagined, they will take good care to make ample allowance for contingencies. If the property arrested is growing corn, or hay grass, the farmer is restrained even from cutting or carrying it: at the harvest all he has a right to do is to give notice to the proper officer, who is enjoined to use due diligence to protect the

grain. Few farmers, however, could be very easy under the exertion of this second hand *diligence!* Meantime an attempt to sell any part of the property, or in any way to alter the state of what is so arrested, (though it shall be proved to be with the intention of applying the proceeds to pay the rent,) subjects the tenant to imprisonment, from which he can only be released on giving bail to *double the amount* of the current rent. To dwell longer on this would be absurd; the bare statement is fully sufficient, borne out as it is by a recent case well known in the island, and which I have no doubt will awaken attention, and may probably procure redress.

Perhaps no maxim can be more true than that to comprehend an evil in its full extent, we must be in some way exposed to its operation or influence; for on no other ground can we account for the jealousy evinced by the Manx legislature in guarding the personal liberties and privileges of natives, and the complete indifference exhibited by that body on the same subject as referring to strangers. To such a pitch, indeed, has this coercive spirit been carried, that an insolvent act, though loudly called for in the island, and even recommended by the interference of the House of Commons of England, was withheld and opposed in all its stages; nor, I believe, would it ever have been granted, had not a very plain intimation been given, that if such a measure for the relief of the unfortunate did not originate with the insular government, the British Parliament would exert their own authority in the cause of humanity. In consequence of this hint, and its being warmly supported in the house of keys by Mr. Curwen, then member for Carlisle, and also one of the keys, who declared, if it failed there he would move it in his place in England, the act at last did pass, by which a prisoner, after an imprisonment of one year, might be released on the usual conditions of a complete surrender of effects; but the term of this act being limited to two years, is now

nearly expired. It is remarkable that, by the Manx laws, a debtor has an allowance of only 3s. per week from his creditor, on delivering up his whole effects, or I should rather say, after his property has been taken from him; which allowance is eventually to be added to the original debt. Whereas a person confined under a criminal charge, receives 1s. per diem during his imprisonment, and retains his effects; so that it should seem, in the eyes of this legislature, the crime of poverty is estimated as deserving much more severe punishment than is inflicted on breaches of the law; more especially as it is a rare thing to see the heaviest offences visited with any other penalty, except a temporary incarceration. Even in a case of murder, and that pretty well proved, the verdict returned being manslaughter, the criminal escaped with only three weeks confinement,* whereas I have known a debtor languish in Castle Rushen eight years after he had relinquished the last remnant of his property.

* I allude to the case of one *Coux*, who was indicted for the murder of his wife; and on whose trial, before the late deemster Lace, it appeared, that he had perpetrated this crime with so much deliberation as to wait the heating of a poker, with which he struck the blows which occasioned her death: yet was the verdict such as I have recorded above.



Comments on the actual State of Society in the Island—Characteristics of the Natives—The Clergy—Methodists.

HAVING now given as full an account of the history of the island as my materials will allow, and impartially pointed out the local disadvantages a stranger may have to encounter, I must descend from the character of an historian; and in order to form a more accurate "*chart des pays*," it will be needful to introduce both anecdote and individual character, as far as they may serve to illustrate the present state of society and manners, and enable my readers to judge how far I am correct in the assertion with which I set out, that the island offers a favourable retreat to persons of small fortune, and moderate habits.

In the minds of those who have thought of this place at all, a strong prejudice has hitherto existed against it, as a mere asylum where debtors might elude the claims of their creditors! That the protection hitherto granted by the laws of the island has, in many instances, invited the unprincipled and extravagant to a temporary residence, cannot be denied; but it is equally true, that in various cases it has afforded a retreat, where by the practice of economy those affairs have been retrieved, and debts paid, which had the individuals been subjected to imprisonment, with its attendant disadvantages and expenses, never would have been effected: but at present the question in all its bearings may be laid aside as of no farther importance.

The insular legislature, influenced by a requisition from the British government, have thrown open a door to the recovery of foreign debts; and the consequences of this act are, for the present, most seriously felt in the island,

where the sums brought in by strangers increased the circulation, and gave the necessary stimulus to commerce and agriculture; but these very circumstances concur to form a most favourable era for the introduction of those to whom, I am of opinion, the island presents advantages no where else to be found in the United Kingdom.

In Great Britain, by the inroads of luxury and the tremendous increase of taxation, existence is absolutely denied to that class which formerly constituted the middle rank; whereas in the Isle of Man, these are precisely the persons best calculated to harmonize with the manners and customs of its inhabitants, in whose character habitual economy forms a very leading trait. By the vast increase of trade and commerce in England, and the consequent influx of wealth, things have completely changed their names, whilst their natures have undergone no alteration. Prudence is now degraded into parsimony, and prodigality has assumed the honourable title of liberality; but as in this isolated spot it has frequently happened, that people have had to contemplate the result of this transposition of terms, divested of the glare attending its progress, as whilst the place afforded an asylum to the debtor, they too often found, that those who fled from the consequences of extravagance on one side the water, brought the same habits of expense and disorder to the other; and as such characters are usually actuated by a sovereign contempt for those little minds who limit their expenses within their means, the legitimate fruit of this combination of profusion and scorn was distrust and aversion. Hence it has become a rule that the stranger, who would live well with the natives, was compelled to adopt their customs, and above all things found it requisite to avoid every *appearance* of profusion. When it is considered how much we are the creatures of example, and how many foolish things are done for no better reason than because others do them, or to evade the suspicion of poverty, the value of this remarkable feature must be duly appreciated.

It has been alleged that the Manx people are illiberal and inhospitable; but I speak from experience and observation, when I assert them to be neither one nor the other. Those characteristics I have enumerated, as generally belonging to the refugees settling here, and the high airs usually assumed by them, certainly prevented any degree of intimacy between two sets of people, whose arrangements were totally dissimilar. Nor would it have had any effect in producing unanimity, had the Manx hazarded their morals by an attempt at assimilation. But it does not follow that the same aversion to extend the circle of society, would operate to the exclusion of persons more consonant to themselves. I believe the very contrary will be the case, and that a short time will suffice to root out all prejudices on this subject. Meanwhile, in the Isle of Man, no sacrifice is exacted to ostentation. There is no scale of expence established, to which all must conform, who would preserve a respectability of appearance. The simple assertion, "I cannot afford it," is accepted as both reasonable and honourable; and those whose current expences are completely bounded by their income, occupy a more advantageous station in the eyes of their contemporaries, than those who, to make a great show, go not only to the extent of their means, but keep their credit also on the full stretch.

Another advantage, particularly to young housekeepers, is, the entire absence of luxuries; the markets offer few temptations, and the shops very little beyond articles of necessity. Here are neither public places nor gaming tables, even tavern meetings are little frequented, and the possibility of extravagance hardly exists. When to this is added the entire freedom from taxation, it must be evident, that a very narrow income, with tolerable management, may support a family in this island, to whom it would hardly give food in Great Britain.

Another particular most favourable to the maintenance of economy lies in the habits of the house-servants, who,

being usually trained up in Manx families, have no idea of that expensive scale of rights and privileges, which has crept in by combination and sufferance in other countries; but it is a necessary caution to those who would profit by the established customs, to warn them that they must not attempt to mix the native domestics with any others; and that they must make themselves acquainted with, and steadily enforce the established practices of the country. The servants have, in general, but a limited knowledge of their duties, but with a little instruction prove useful and active. The regular times of hiring is at May and November, for the ensuing six months. If the persons hired absent themselves from their service within the term of engagement, they are liable to imprisonment; if dismissed by the hirer, the full wages must be paid: these are moderate, and vary according to the abilities of the subject.

It is universally allowed, that no class have a greater influence in forming the character of society at large than the clergy, and I shall enter on this subject with great pleasure, as it relates to those of the Isle of Man, whom I consider as deserving the most honourable mention. To the indolence, carelessness, and even irreligion, too often exhibited in persons holding the office of ministers in England and Ireland, it is, I believe, universally admitted, much of the ordinary vices of the lower orders of people may be ascribed. The remark is trite, but not the less true, that a precept has little influence, when example takes a contrary direction. The graces of elocution, the charms of learning, the finest taste in the choice of discourses, can never counterbalance the mischiefs effected by a negligent or immoral pastor; his Sunday lectures can have no weight, whilst his weekly practice carries him through the haunts of vice and dissipation. Happily for this island, the inhabitants cannot, from experience, appreciate the veracity of this maxim amongst the whole order of Manx clergy, though some may be deficient in learning, and even in that

elevated strain of piety so necessary to give full efficacy to the doctrines they teach. Yet I will undertake, without fear of contradiction, to say, there are few, if any, striking instances of dereliction from their duties, and that, generally speaking, the established habits of the whole body are consonant to the best rules of orthodoxy.

When Bishop Wilson first settled in the Isle of Man, he found the clergy sunk in ignorance, and not remarkable for propriety of conduct; he speedily saw the necessity of striking at the root of an evil so extensive in its consequences, and he began by establishing a seminary under his own roof, where, with unwearied pains, he trained up future candidates for the ministry. The benefits of this excellent plan are not yet exhausted, the pupils of his pupils are still alive to propagate the blessing.

If the Manx clergy are a little deficient in the exterior polish of those attainments derivable from a college education, they are, at least, preserved from the contagion of vices too often attendant on a superior course of instruction, and retain a simplicity of character, and correctness of manners, more conducive to the general good of those they have to instruct, than greater learning would prove with less humility.

Much emulation in reading and speaking has, of late, prevailed amongst the younger candidates; and the improvement in these particulars has been very striking, even within the term of my own observation. Great part of this evident change in oratory may be ascribed to the influence of the present bishop, whose discourses, which he delivers with calm, but energetic solemnity, are particularly impressive. Indeed, it may be truly said, that his lordship's example, as well as his vigilant superintendence, are highly conducive to the preservation of religion in his diocese, as well as to the general amelioration of manners both in his clergy and people, his own character being embellished with all the graces derivable from the high polish of ele-

vated society, combined and corrected by the gentleness and moderation of genuine Christianity.

The service is performed in most country churches alternately in English and Manx; in the towns of Douglas and Castletown, the former language is adopted exclusively. The livings are none of them large, but they are pretty equally distributed; the highest does not exceed £350, nor the lowest fall beneath £80 per annum. The service of a curate is almost unknown, and residence very strictly enforced. I have witnessed, with pleasure, the respect universally shown to the clergyman and his family in several parishes, where such observations have come within my reach; and the peaceful and orderly arrangements of these village-pastors in their houses, has forcibly reminded me of Goldsmith's description of a similar character.

To particularize some cannot be done without injustice to others. But there is one minister in the island, in whose eulogy, I believe, all parties will concur with unqualified approbation. I respect the pious and unaffected humility of this gentleman's mind too much to mention his name. But, as "the friend of Man," a title universally accorded him, he is well known in his little circle, where his paternal care is actively employed to benefit and instruct; nor does he confine his pious endeavours to the narrow limits of his own parish—his writings and exhortations take a more extended range, and the good he is enabled to effect must return in blessings on himself.

The service of the church is attended by the laity with an appearance of devotion, very edifying to witness; nor is the rest of the Sabbath profaned by riots and drunkenness, as is too often the case in larger communities. A quiet walk, or a little chat from house to house amongst the decent villagers, seems to bound the Sunday diversions.

The Methodists are, in this island, an increasing sect. It appears, that from their first institution they have been favourably received here, as has ever been the case, when

they have assailed an ignorant or superstitious people. Wesley, who visited them in 1777, says of this place, "We have no such circuit either in England or Ireland; it is shut up from the world; there are no disputes of any kind. Governor, bishop,* clergy, oppose not—they did for a season, but they grew better acquainted with us."

I confess I do not wholly subscribe to the prejudice entertained against this people. I firmly believe, as the candid and ingenuous Dr. Paley observes, "that there is to be found amongst them much sincere and availing, though not always well-informed Christianity." That their devotion is too enthusiastic must be admitted; and where it goes the length of substituting faith for works, the doctrine is undoubtedly more than erroneous, it becomes highly dangerous. But these abstract points are not those which operate on the minds of the multitude, nor are they those which are generally objected to, or even considered by their opponents; and though some far-sighted persons may discern a danger to the church and state, from the prevalence of puritanism, I confess I cannot bring myself as yet to partake of their fears, for I am inclined to think, that the cry of the great mass, if duly analized, would be found to be as much excited by a high strain of devotion in general, as against the Methodists in particular. A very little extra attention to duty, or opposition to prevailing vices, has the effect to raise the hue-and-cry of hypocrisy. According to the present system, drunkenness, debauchery, and profane swearing, are all vices incident to human nature, and for which charity commands us to make every allowance, and continually to bear in mind the precepts of our Saviour against partial judgments. But one seldom sees the same forbearance exhibited in decrying a praying, psalm-singing rogue; his sanctity, even though

* Dr. Hildesley was then diocesan.—I cannot help thinking Bishop Wilson would have resisted these innovators with more zeal.

no outward evidence impeaches it, is yet a subject of continual suspicion: in short, hypocrisy, whether real or imaginary, seems to include all the deadly sins; and to evade this charge, no hazard, not even that of our eternal happiness, is thought too much.

The evil consequences to the rising generation of this affected candour in estimating real vices, and this fearful avoidance of assuming virtue, must be obvious. Children, who continually hear all professions of piety ridiculed, and suspected, must naturally look on devotion as useless or affected; and whilst every mention of a future state, and every quotation from Scripture is avoided as Methodistical cant, I would fain know by what intuition they are to obtain the knowledge, which, I trust, we are not yet arrived at the pitch of denying, is necessary to salvation.

My object in this digression is by no means to advocate the cause of enthusiasm, I only seek to decry absolute irreligion. All that is done by the Methodists, and much more than they can effect, would be far better performed by the enlightened and rational clergy of the established church, if they would only exert themselves heartily and conscientiously in the cause; for I fully agree with the author I have before quoted, (Dr. Paley,) who says, "I have never yet attended a meeting of the Methodists, but I came away with the reflection, how different what I heard was from the sobriety, the good sense, and I may add, the strength and authority of our Lord's discourses;" and, therefore, though I would rather have the lower orders instructed in matters of religion, even by the Methodists, than remain completely in ignorance, yet in the Isle of Man, where no such neglect subsists, and where the clergy, from the head of the church to the youngest member of the class, are both adequate to their office, and zealous in performing the duties enjoined on them, I think interlopers are worse than useless.

Further Observations on the Society—An Example presented to the Ladies for their Imitation, deduced wholly from Native *Excellence—The Peasantry—Review of the State of Society at different Periods—Contrast between the Natives and Strangers—Anecdote of the Latter.*

THE situation of the Isle of Man, slowly emerging from a state of depression, has been, for the last three centuries, peculiarly unfavourable to literature. The supply of bodily wants will always supersede the improvement of the mind. Hitherto the people have learnt only to live, they may now "live to learn." But though little has been done at home, the island has nevertheless afforded some excellent specimens of the effects of foreign culture on native talent; and when recalling the names of those who, owing their birth to this confined sphere, have contributed to adorn, instruct, or defend, the parent state, every Manxman will record with pride the distinguished names of Colonel Mark Wilkes, the historian of India; the learned lexicographer, Dr. Kelly; Captains Heywood and Kelly, of the royal navy, gentlemen not more distinguished for courage and enterprise, than for science in their profession: these are all luminaries of the present day, and doubtless there may be many more equally worthy of notice. I have heard of only one native poet, and his talents, though certainly above mediocrity, were suffered to evaporate in local satire, of which the humour is now lost; and in course the momentary corruscations attendant on his essays, have expired with the subjects whence they sprung.

On the whole, I believe it must be admitted, that Mona is not poetic ground; and it seems to me, that the character of the Manx, when it shall be completely developed,

will be found better adapted to solid attainments, than to those flights of fancy, which carry the enthusiast into the regions of fiction.

But even to the due cultivation of those talents derived from nature much is still wanting, and the foundation of scholastic learning is yet to be laid. The very heavy expence, as well as the inconvenience attendant on sending boys to England, restrains most families from adopting this plan, whilst those who do it are apt to shorten their course so much that few have the advantage of a regular education; and thus each young man, in comparing the attainments of his contemporaries with his own, finds them so nearly on a scale, that he has no incitement from emulation to advance nearer the goal.

Whenever the present class of pedagogues shall give place to only one or two schoolmasters of real learning, this great disadvantage will be overcome; and as I know no place that offers a fairer opening to persons in this line, I trust the attempt will yet be made: but to the success of such an undertaking moderation of terms are essential at the outset, the value of education not being sufficiently appreciated to command profuse returns, especially before the inhabitants have ascertained the real existence of those abilities, which they have been taught to doubt, from the extravagant and unfounded pretensions by which they have too often been duped.

The Manx ladies would have just cause of complaint if I should pass them over in silent neglect, yet I confess I enter their coterie with some fear, lest those who do not know them should accuse me of flattery, and those who do should charge me with severity.

In speaking of the female part of the community, I shall pass lightly over the occasional visitors, and confine my remarks almost wholly to the natives. Those who have come hither from other countries have seldom presented good specimens. Either extravagance or necessity are

badly calculated to form the character of woman in the best mould, and to one or other of these causes may be ascribed most of the emigrations which have hitherto taken place. Future writers will probably have better subjects to describe, but till now the most striking traits exhibited by these fair wanderers have been a sovereign contempt for those they came to live amongst, a prodigious flippancy, vast affectation of high breeding, and pretensions to a rank in their own country not always borne out by facts. With these ladies it was usual to pass their time in querulous regret at the fate which had condemned them to irradiate so low a sphere, and eager anticipations of their return to a more extended circle. The ill policy of showing this aversion to the retreat they had chosen must be plain to any comprehension! no one returns esteem for contempt, and nothing could be more natural than to join in the regret thus loudly expressed, that fortune had compelled them to take a station in society where they were neither welcome nor *invited* guests.

The generality of native ladies belong to that rank most favourable to feminine virtues, neither elevated by superior rank, talents, or attainments, nor sunk in vulgar and degrading ignorance. They are admirably calculated to perform their relative duties, and instances of derelict-tion are, in consequence, extremely rare. That they have not received the last polish, or acquired those arts which embellish the charms of virtue where she is, and outwardly supply her place where she is not, is most true; but neither do they exhibit those glaring vices, or that offensive disregard to propriety, which we *sometimes* see accompany extraordinary intellectual advantages.

The term *dashing* is not to be found in the Manx vocabulary, nor do the young ladies, or their mothers for them, lay violent hands on admiration, but rather wait with perfect quietness till it is spontaneously offered. I do not, indeed, consider the Isle of Man as the abode of Cupid

or the Graces; in general, the marriages contracted by the natives (though they take place at rather an early age) are founded on prudential calculations. No man, however youthful, marries merely for love; yet, as soon as any one is established in business or housekeeping, he naturally looks out for a wife as a necessary appendage to his domestic economy, and in his choice is influenced by parity of circumstances, by early associations, or some such motives, independent of the tender passion. In general, the same quietude of sentiments actuates both sides, yet are these marriages, in most instances, fortunate in their results; a couple thus united live together on the best terms, they co-operate in their pursuits, habit soon gives them an undeviating conformity, and permits their lives to pass

"A clear united stream."

The ladies are, in general, admirable economists, and good mothers: they are rather fond of dress, but even this taste is so circumscribed, that it never leads them beyond the bounds of decency, whilst the vigilant superintendence of a narrow society restrains them from extravagance.

In the course of education pursued by the young ladies, all that is commonly called accomplishment is attained with such difficulty and expence, that the attempt is generally relinquished; for, although in Douglas there are two female schools of tolerable celebrity, yet their plans are too superficial for essential good, and their efforts entirely crippled by the want of masters to assist in those branches of knowledge usually conducted by the other sex.

The style of visiting is like that which prevails in most country towns in England; they meet to play cards, to practise a little extra-judicial inquiry into the proceedings of their neighbours, to relate their own domestic afflictions, to show their new clothes, and to kill time; but for any intellectual attainments, for any "burst of sentiment, or

flow of soul," it is as little to be found or expected here, as in any other circle of the same confined dimensions. And I own I have often observed, with smiling wonder, the avidity with which they individually run from house to house all the morning, to repeat the same news, practise the same courtesies, and make the same inquiries separately, which the identical set must hear, see, and answer over again, collectively, in the evening. The only scenes of active and public amusement hitherto established, to bring the young people together, are monthly balls, which are well attended. I wonder nothing like a book society has been attempted amongst the ladies; I am persuaded they have capacities for higher attainments than they have yet pursued, and I should rejoice to see their associations take a superior tone.

I would fain persuade my contemporaries to assume the graces and charms of virtue in her best dress and character; to employ their time in acts of benevolence; to guide the ignorant, stimulate the idle, and substitute active goodness for the negative praise of harmlessness. In no place that I am acquainted with, are there better opportunities for this advance in real worth; the female character here presents almost a spotless surface! there are no prevalent vices to combat! no fashionable crimes to eradicate! all that is required is to improve, embellish, and call forth latent good qualities, and give efficacy to dormant virtues, a purpose which I have little doubt a very few examples would suffice to effect; and I think I cannot better conclude this short essay than with the character of a Manx lady not long since deceased, who, with only the narrow means of cultivation this island affords, presented in her life, and left behind at her death, a complete exemplification of *all* that is valuable in woman. I borrow the words from the sermon preached at her funeral, and I might call on the whole circle of her acquaintance, to say if the picture exhibits one exaggerated feature.

"Her piety, though silent in its exercises, and secret in its springs, powerfully influenced her life and conversation, sweetened her temper, softened her manners, and elevated her views. From the exercises of public worship, from the retirement of her closet, and the perusal of the sacred volume, she returned to the active duties of her family with renewed energy:—'Looking well to the ways of her household, and training up her children in the way they should go, the heart of her husband safely trusted in her, and she did him good all the days of her life.' All her duties were performed with singleness and sincerity; she walked in her family and neighbourhood as the angel of consolation, offering a balm for every wound, and a remedy for every distress. Often have the sick and dying experienced relief from her charitable aid, and often has her well-timed assistance suspended pain, and arrested the progress of misery.

"In discharge of her relative duties she was peculiarly exemplary. Her conduct as a daughter was marked by the most cheerful obedience, and the most watchful attention. No language can convey an idea of the tenderness of her affection for her partner in life;—she was his companion in health, his physician in sickness, ever anticipating his desires and preventing his wishes. Her attachment to her children was tender, rational, and constant: she taught them by her precepts, but still more by her example, to observe and adorn the doctrine of their Saviour in all things.

"The close of such a life might well be expected to be peace; and such it was, solid, substantial, well-grounded peace and hope: for although it was the will of heaven to remove her in the prime of life, and though her sufferings in the last week of her existence were calculated to try her faith and patience to the uttermost, yet she regarded them as the appointment of unerring wisdom, and endured them in silent tranquillity and resignation, exerting herself only

to console those whom she was about to leave, and to point their hopes to a future meeting in bliss."*

I believe no Manx woman can peruse this eulogium without some degree of exultation, and I trust also, not without an earnest wish to follow such an admirable example.

The general description given of the Manx peasantry is, that they are sullen, unmoved by benefits, and to a degree beyond all bounds fond of litigation. I am not prepared wholly to deny these charges, but I think I may, without deviating from the strictest truth, offer something in the way of defence and explanation. Assuredly they are not a gracious people; they are slow in their apprehensions, and somewhat cold-hearted in manner, if not in reality, particularly towards strangers, of whom circumstances have engendered a degree of suspicion, which is now almost engrafted in their nature, and which only time, and an improved course of education, can eradicate. The charge of ingratitude also admits of considerable palliation. This sentiment, in uncultivated minds, must ever be in an exact ratio with *their sense* of the benefit conferred. Now it is most certain, that what an English peasant would consider as a state of actual starvation, is scarcely regarded by a Manxman as including any particular deprivation; from their birth they are habituated, without effort or design, to live very hardly. Herrings, potatoes, oatmeal, and these in very moderate quantities, are the general fare equally of the small native farmer and the labourer.

The latter resides contentedly in a cottage of mud, under a roof of straw, so low that a man of middling stature can hardly stand erect in any part of it. If to the common necessaries above stated the good people add a

* Extract from a funeral sermon preached on the death of Mrs. Stawell, by the Rev. Thomas Howard, vicar of Braddon.

stock of turf for the fire, and a cow fed in the lanes and hedges, they enjoy the utmost abundance of which they have any idea. A chaff bed for the whole family, a stool and a wooden table, constitute the furniture of the mansion; and here they vegetate in heaps, waiting the recurrence of the herring fishery for the renewal of plenty. When their stores fall somewhat short of their consumption, they take such calamities with patience as matters of course, which *must* happen, but for which the remedy will come of itself in due season; or may be sought in a case of extremity, by spending a day or two in labour at a neighbouring farm.

When therefore a stranger, viewing this scene with compassion, (because to him it would be a state of extreme misery,) satisfies his own feelings by gifts, which the objects of his pity never desired, and scarcely know how to use, ought he to wonder that he excites none of those sentiments of gratitude which the same benefits would naturally produce in other places? should he be angry that the Manxman understands as little of this refined feeling as he did of his own wants?

On the other hand, there are traits of hospitality inherent in the character of these peasants which bespeak a natural generosity, and which it is remarkable are preserved in the greatest purity, where their exercise must be attended with the most considerable self-denial. No cotter, however poor, will refuse to his neighbour or acquaintance a share of his herrings and potatoes, small as the portion may be that is provided for his own consumption; and though their miserable bed be crowded by a whole family, they still find a corner for a native traveller, who seeks the shelter of a lowly roof; and these good offices are extended with the most unaffected simplicity, and accepted more as a right than a favour.

The love of litigation is a charge which it is more difficult to meet with a due apology; yet even on this subject

something may be said. In the first place it is almost wholly confined to the lower orders. In the higher circles of the Manx, whether gentry or traders, there is as little disposition to vexatious or petty suits, as in the same classes in other countries, where the access to law is guarded by expence and difficulty; on the other hand, the peasant has been accustomed from infancy to consider the deemster as the guardian of his rights, and an infallible decider of all disagreements, to whom he might apply whenever he felt himself injured or aggrieved, and that, not entirely in the character of a judge greatly elevated above himself, who must be approached with awe, and who from want of experience could enter into none of the petty grievances brought to his cognizance; but, on the contrary, the Manxman feels that this officer has a close and local knowledge of the character, circumstances, and family history of every client in his little district: and he remembers too, that a very short time perhaps has elapsed since the deemster moved in the same sphere with himself. Each man also, partial to his own cause, and knowing the decisions are to be governed by circumstances as they can be made to appear, has a hope, by telling his own story, of prevailing against his adversary. At all events the expence incurred is trifling, and the disgrace of failure none at all.

This habit of referring the merest trifles to judicial authority, diffuses a knowledge of the laws, or rather of the practice, neither beneficial nor improving. Every native man, woman, and *child*, understands the legal terms, and can dilate upon the history of actions, tokens, charges, and appeals, with technical precision; and the pertinacity with which a common peasant will pursue a cause through all the different courts, is both ridiculous and tormenting. I heard an instance in point from very high authority, which I shall repeat as it was related to me.

A man had made a charge of five shillings for digging a

grave, the customary price being only two shillings and sixpence. The affair was contended in the lowest ecclesiastical court, and in course given against the plaintiff, who thence carried it to the bishop, and being still foiled, has had the obstinacy to appeal to the metropolitan court at York, where this ridiculous cause is still pending. But these contentions are generally amongst themselves, and form but a trifling subject of annoyance to strangers, who, with very little temper and caution, may keep clear of these petty inconveniences, which will never wholly subside until the legislature shall impose a tax upon law proceedings, and thereby render them less accessible to the peasantry; or till the deemsters, being remunerated by government at a fixed and competent salary, in lieu of the fees now granted, shall find it for their own ease to discountenance litigation.

The only military force at present in the island are the volunteers, or local militia; there were formerly two fencible regiments of native troops in the pay of government, but these being reduced at different times, a regiment of veterans took their place, who were, however, recalled when the war broke out again. It is probable the present system will not continue long, but that either a permanent force will be raised within the island, or some regiment from Great Britain be stationed here, it being absolutely necessary to have some troops for the protection of the prisons, and also to guard the stores, and enforce the authority of the custom-house officers against smugglers. It is a curious fact, that during the long period of war, when it was universally allowed that a single privateer *might have* ravaged the island, or laid either of the towns in ashes before assistance or protection could be afforded from England, yet no care was taken to organize those means of defence which were easily within the reach of the inhabitants. It is true that at every commanding point, all round the coast, there were cannon; but these lay dis-

mounted and useless, though, at the same time, government was paying a salary to an ordnance-keeper for his *neglect*. But immediately on the conclusion of peace, an engineer being sent over, has ever since been actively employed in building batteries, arranging stores of ammunition, and mounting the cannon, as if it had been apprehended that, when all the rest of Europe was restored to tranquillity, the arms of the united potentates would be turned against the Isle of Man alone; at any rate, if this idea is considered as futile, I must leave it to clearer politicians than myself to say, why these measures of precaution were not taken before? or why they have been taken now?

If what I have said has failed to convey a general idea of the society and manners of the people, I know not how I shall make my account more accurate. In fact, except a few national traits, which remain permanently fixed, the features of the whole people have ever been liable to great variation, and are constantly influenced by the different classes who come amongst them: of some of the most striking of these changes, it may be amusing, before we conclude, to take a slight review.

In the earliest times we imagine the court of the kings to have been adorned by knights and damsels, whom fancy is allowed to paint in all the spendour of chivalry and romance. Next we find a race of peasants in mud-walled cottages, decked out on holidays, and at fairs, in their *best blankets*, and leaving us in some doubt what kind of drapery was substituted on less important occasions; sunk in extreme ignorance, dozing amidst foggy mountains, and dreaming of an intercourse with fairies and mermaids, or trembling at the power of witches and demons.

The next great revolution converted these half stupified beings into a community having a mixed character between traders and robbers, who united the meanest traits of both professions, living by the exercise of fraud, and a sort of bastard courage called forth only by the prospect of gain,

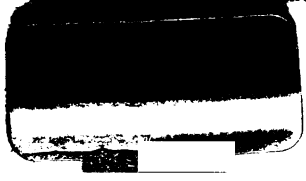
and wholly inapplicable to any better purpose. Hitherto they had formed little connexion with foreigners, or had been little visited by them; all their varieties had sprung from internal circumstances; but at length a new scene opened, since which the changes have been more rapid, and of shorter continuance.

Luxury, as it advanced in Great Britain, continually drove out those sons and daughters of dissipation, who had sacrificed too largely at her altars, to expiate their vices or their follies in other climes; and when the revolutionary war broke out, the continent being closed against such incursions, the Isle of Man became the sole retreat left open to them. At first, the animation and spirit which accompanied persons of this cast threw a charm over their derelictions, and the natives, dazzled by the polished manners and superior acquirements of their visitors, opened their hearts and their houses to them; but this cordiality was short lived. Gold had, at this time, become one of the household gods of the Manx, and it was not possible to preserve this deity inviolate from the attacks of the strangers: hence arose suspicion on one side, and contempt on the other; so that, at last, both parties drew off into separate associations, and all chance of conciliation was at an end. It is now about twelve years since this feud was at its height, and as that was the period of my arrival in the island, I was both astonished and alarmed at the enmity then existing between them. The weekly paper was the instrument of war, and the anger of both sides was vented in repartee and inuendo, in which attacks, it must be owned, the advantage lay with the strangers.

The Manx continually threatened to withdraw the protection afforded to these interlopers, who in their turn warned them, that the island would be ruined by such a measure: they insisted that all the prosperity of the country originated with them! that it was supported by their money, and might be civilized by their example. In fact,

to listen only to one side, any one would have supposed these were a class of missionaries, who had made a pilgrimage with the disinterested view of diffusing light and wealth, whilst the Manx as stardily denied the benefit, and expressed their wish to be left in mediocrity and ignorance, rather than be annoyed by the airs of superiority assumed over them. It was in the height of this contest that a new clan arrived to divert and occupy the public attention. These were a tribe of duellists, or what Addison would have called "*Mohawks*," chiefly drawn from the green shores of Erin; and no sooner had they landed than peace spread her wings, and for many months was heard of no more. I am not exaggerating when I assert, that every evening closed upon a quarrel, and every morning dawned upon a challenge! explanations! apologies! points of honour! and effusions of valour formed the sole subjects of discourse! No meeting, however peaceably arranged between the most intimate friends, could ever break up without a deadly feud, which nothing but lead and gunpowder could allay. For a length of time the whole island (but Douglas in particular,) was in a state of ferment, till the meetings grew so frequent that even terror was worn out, and it began to be observed, that by some lucky chance the heroes still gathered bloodless laurels; so that at last the heroines left off to faint or to fear, and it became necessary to make somebody weep, that every body might not laugh. At length two gentlemen did meet in *real earnest*, and one fell a victim to Moloch; yet such was the apathy with which the scene was regarded, that although at the moment of this melancholy event there were, as usual, a group of the "*Mohawk*" tribe assembled to witness the rencontre, yet did they all take to flight in different directions, and left the unhappy man to breathe his last unassisted and unsupported.

This is the first and last fatal duel upon record in the Isle of Man; since that time the "*Mohawks*" have "*worn*



their arms with a difference," and to a certain degree the peace of the community has been restored; the principals fled the island, and the rest of the parties, dividing the reflected glories of this exploit between them, sat down pretty quietly under the shade of their honours; only now and then taking advantage of the renewed fears of the ladies to mutter an execration, look fierce, and exhibit their skill at snuffing candles with pistol balls.

But as it is out of nature wholly to repress the effervescence of original fire, the "*Mohawks*" next assumed a new fancy; they clothed themselves in long dark cloaks, encouraged the growth of their whiskers and mustaches, girt their loins with leathern belts, in which they stuck pistols and a stiletto, and in this terrific array did a band of these worthies parade the streets of the town; yet I must do them the justice to say, I never heard of any essential mischief achieved by them, though one of them planted the lawn before his house with cannon, and certainly killed all the ducks and geese of a neighbouring farmer with grape-shot; but as he liberally paid the damage, it was, perhaps, as well as any other market to which the good dame could have sent her poultry.

Since this epoch there have been few striking alterations in the state of society, till the passing of the new act. At the present time all is peace and good order; the dissipated are nearly extirpated, the riotous effectually restrained, and, if I am not greatly mistaken in my calculations, the period is arrived when all distinctions being done away, the most easy and social intercourse will henceforth be established between natives and strangers, or rather, considering themselves as subjects of one government, the invidious distinction will be lost altogether in the common and enviable name of Britons.

Some characteristic Superstitions of the Manx.

THE lower and middle orders of the Manx are, in common with all uncultivated people, greatly addicted to superstition; they have the fullest belief in fairies and witchcraft, and to the supernatural influence of one of these imaginary powers nearly all the good or ill that befalls them is ascribed. As these popular prejudices sometimes throw a considerable light on the character of a nation or people, I shall relate a few of the most prevailing legends, as specimens of the general faith.

Each of the two castles of Rushen and Peel has its appropriate apparition. In Rushen are said to be subterraneous apartments, inhabited by genii and giants, their existence having been ascertained by more than one adventurous hero, whose intrepidity has carried them through the mists and obscurity in which the paths leading to these abodes are enveloped. Besides the secluded inhabitants, there are two spirits of different degrees of importance, the one being the apparition of a woman executed for infanticide; the other, no less a personage than the magnanimous Countess of Derby; who, it is constantly affirmed, takes her nightly round on the walls of the castle, where she has been encountered by a multitude of persons, and at great distances of time: but no one has yet had so much compassion on either of these perturbed spirits, as to ask the cause of their wanderings, without which formulæ, according to the established etiquette of ghostly courtesy, it is impossible they should either reveal their uneasiness, or rest in their graves.

At Peel Castle is a spectre of still greater notoriety, called the Manthé Doog, who, so long as the garrison was

maintained, made his nightly visits to the guard-room, in the shape of a large black hound. This alarming visitor had continued the practice for so great a length of time, that the soldiers grew familiar with his presence, and one at length, inspired by liquor, took the resolution to follow the animal to his retreat, which none had yet ventured to explore. It was in vain his comrades sought to restrain the hardihood of this champion; he actually set out in pursuit of the mysterious intruder; but on his return, which was somewhat speedier than they had expected, he was deprived of all power to relate his adventures, being both speechless and convulsed, in which condition he remained three days, and then died. This tale is alluded to by Walter Scott, in his poem of Marmion.

> "But none of all the astonish'd train
> Were so dismay'd as Deloraine;
> His blood did freeze, his brain did burn,
> 'Twas fear'd his mind would ne'er return;
> For he was speechless, ghastly, wan!
> Like him, of whom the story ran,
> Who spake the spectre Hound in Man."

A long story is very gravely related in Sacheverel's account of the island, which I shall repeat in his own words.

"In the year 1690, upon the late king's going to Ireland, a little boy, then scarce eight years old, frequently told the family in which he lived, of two fine gentlemen who daily conversed with him, gave him victuals, and something out of a bottle of a greenish colour, and sweet taste, to drink. This making a noise, the present deemster, a man of *good sense* and probity, went into the mountains to see if he could make any discovery what they were. He found the boy, who told him they were then sitting under a hedge about a hundred yards from him. The deemster bade the boy ask why he could not see them;

the boy accordingly went to the place, put off his cap, and made his reverence, and returning, said it was the will of God they should not be seen, but the gentlemen were sorry for his incredulity. The deemster then pulled out a crown-piece, and asked the boy what it was? He answered—he could not tell. He then bade him ask the gentlemen: from whom the child, returning again, told him they said it was silver, and had shown him a great deal of such silver, and some yellow silver besides.

"Another day, a neighbouring minister going into the mountains, the boy told him they were then in a barn hard by, exercising the pike. He went to the place pointed out, and saw a pitch-fork moving about in all the proper postures of exercise; upon which, rushing into the barn, the fork was struck to the roof, but no person to be seen. Another day, the boy came and told Captain Stevenson, that one of them came with his hand bloody, and said he had been in a battle in Ireland. The captain marked the day, and though they had no news for nearly a month after, yet, when it did come, it agreed exactly with the time Colonel Wolseley had given the Irish a considerable defeat.

"I could give you," adds this author, "a hundred other instances during their stay, which was above a month; but, at last, the king came with his fleet into Ramsay Bay, which, one of them telling the other before the boy, he answered, it was well the king was there in person, for if he had sent never so many generals his affairs would not prosper—and, speaking to the boy, told him they must go with the king into Ireland; that he might tell the people of the island that there would be a battle fought between Midsummer and St. Columbus' day, upon which the future fortune of Ireland would depend, which exactly agreed with the battle of the Boyne; that the war would last ten or twelve years, but that, in the end, King William would be victorious over all his enemies."

Nor is the belief in these supernatural appearances become obsolete; to this moment, every damsel who rambles beyond the precincts of the farm-yard at night, incurs the danger of meeting fairies, and it is seldom they return without a circumstantial history of miraculous adventures. Collins, the poet, calls Man the "fairy-land." And as to the influence of witchcraft, it is an article of faith standing on much higher ground than the creed.

If a fisherman makes one or two unsuccessful trips, he instantly proceeds to exorcise his boat by burning gorze or straw in the centre, and carrying the flaming material to every crevice where it is supposed the evil spirit may continue to lurk. If a cow is diseased, or any difficulty occurs in churning, the operation of the *evil eye* is immediately suspected, and a strict inquiry is made as to who may have been lately upon the spot; for the power of doing mischief is by no means confined to a few malignant individuals, but seems to be generally ascribed by every one to an adversary, or a rival.

Conversing on this subject with a farmer of good information on general affairs, he expressed the utmost astonishment, not unmixed with terror, at the scepticism with which I listened to some of these supernatural histories, in confirmation of which he related one story, to the truth of which he offered to bring unquestionable evidence, if my unbelief should yet maintain its ground. He asserted, that two years before that time, he and a neighbour were in treaty for the sale and purchase of a pony, but differing about the price, his neighbour, vexed at his disappointment, *put an evil eye* upon the beast, which *instantly*, and without other visible cause, became so lame as to be wholly useless, and so continued for twelve months; when, by extraordinary good luck, another person called on him, who had on his part the power to discern these unrighteous influences where they had been exercised, and to do them away by a counter charm. No sooner had

this man cast his eyes on the animal, than he pronounced his lameness to have originated with the malignant purchaser, and after performing certain ceremonies, he assured my informer that the spell was broken, and that within a few hours the pony would be restored to perfect soundness and strength, all which, in course, happened as foretold.

The witches and fairies of Man are neither supposed to combine, nor to produce exactly the same effects by their power, the former being wholly employed in acts of aggression, whilst the latter have a mixed jurisdiction, and can produce both good and evil by their operations. They are accustomed to perform certain frolics, which show some degree of humour and whim in their propensities: they are also easily assailable by bribes: thus the dairy-maid, who would spare herself unusual exertion, regularly makes the offering of a small pat of butter, or a piece of cheese curd, which is affixed to the wall of the dairy, and is believed to propitiate these invisible agents. The livers of fowls and fish are uniformly sacrificed to the fairies. At Midsummer-eve, when their power is of unlimited extent, flowers and herbs are the only barriers to their incursions, and these are regularly spread on the door and window-sill to protect the inhabitants.

But one of the most curious ceremonies, and which, I believe, is peculiar to the Isle of Man, is, that of *hunting the wren*, founded on a tradition, that in former times a fairy of uncommon beauty exerted such undue influence over the male population, that she at various times seduced numbers to follow her footsteps, till, by degrees, she led them into the sea, where they perished. This barbarous exercise of power had continued for a great length of time, till it was apprehended the island would be exhausted of its defenders, when a knight-errant sprung up, who discovered some means of countervailing the charms used by this syren, and even laid a plot for her destruction, which

she only escaped at the moment of extreme hazard, by taking the form of a *wren*; but though she evaded instant annihilation, a spell was cast upon her, by which she was condemned on every succeeding New Year's Day, to reanimate the same form, with the definitive sentence, that she must ultimately perish by a human hand. In consequence of this *well authenticated* legend, on the specified anniversary, every man and boy in the island (except those who have thrown off the trammels of superstition,) devote the hours between sun-rise and sun-set to the hope of extirpating the fairy, and woe be to the individual birds of this species, who show themselves on this fatal day to the active enemies of the race: they are pursued, pelted, fired at, and destroyed, without mercy, and their feathers preserved with religious care, it being an article of belief, that every one of the relics gathered in this laudable pursuit is an effectual preservative from shipwreck for one year; and that fisherman would be considered as extremely foolhardy, who should enter upon his occupation without such a safeguard.

Another tradition, preserved by Waldron in his Account of the Isle of Man, relates, that about fifty years before his residence there, an adventure had been achieved, of which there were living witnesses in his time. It originated in a project, which was conceived by some philosophers, to fish up treasures from the deep, by means of a diving-bell. A venturous hero being enclosed in one of these machines was let down, and, in his descent, continued to pull for more rope, till all they had on board was completely expended, though such had been their precaution, that they had gone out provided with a length of line which, according to their calculation, was sufficient to descend at least double the number of leagues that the moon is computed to be distant from the earth! At such an extreme depth as this adventurer had explored, great wonders might reasonably be expected, and such he en-

countered, for when, after awaiting his further signal till their patience was exhausted, his companions wound up the rope, and brought the submarine traveller to the upper regions again, he gave a most splendid account of the scenes he had left.—"After," said he, "I had passed the region of fishes, I descended into a pure element, clear as air, through which, as I floated, I saw the bottom of the watery world, paved with coral and a shining kind of pebble, which glittered like sun-beams reflected on glass. On looking through the little windows of my prison, I saw streets and squares on every side, ornamented with huge pyramids of crystal; and one building in particular attracted my attention, composed of mother-of-pearl, embossed with shells of various descriptions, and all colours. Having with infinite difficulty forced my enclosure towards this palace, I got entrance into a very spacious room; the furniture was amber, and the floor inlaid with diamonds, topazes, rubies, and emeralds: I saw also several rings, chains, and carbuncles, of all manner of precious stones, set after our fashions, which, I suppose, had been the prey of the winds and waves. These were hanging loosely on the jasper walls, and I could easily have made a booty of immense value, if, at the moment when I had edged my machine near enough to reach them, you had not interposed between me and my good fortune, by the precipitancy with which I was drawn back at the moment of success."*

This story, which, at least, proves the poetical talent of the adventurer, may serve the metrical tale-mongers of the present day, and give a litle variety and relief from the tiresome sameness of silver moon-beams and verdant meadows, especially if duly interspersed with the loves of the mermen and maids, who, according to the narrator, inhabit these splendid abodes.

* See Waldron's Works, page 176.

Prices of Provisions—Rent—Servants' Wages, &c.

ALL that remains of my task is to give that promised scale of prices, which may enable persons interested in the inquiry, to form an estimate of the expences incident to a residence in the Isle of Man.

Rent will be found to be the heaviest article of family expenditure. A respectable house of from ten to twelve rooms can scarcely be met with in a good situation, either in Douglas or Castletown, under £30 or £40 per annum. The towns of Ramsay and Peel offer accommodations at a much lower price. Lodgings furnished are let in proportion; unfurnished, few can be met with.

The best mode of providing moveables is from Liverpool, where they can be purchased cheaper, freight included, than in the island; except at sales, whence many persons collect their furniture on very moderate terms: but these transfers of property are much less frequent than they were, when the resort of strangers was greater.

Wages of female domestics are in proportion to their abilities, from £4 to £7 per annum. Those who neglect to hire at May and November are often greatly inconvenienced, as in the intervals few good servants can be met with. The natives will always be preferred on experience, notwithstanding they are somewhat less intelligent, yet are they much more trustworthy than those from the neighbouring counties, for this obvious reason, that persons of good character in that class will hardly find it necessary to leave their native place in pursuit of *lower wages*. Men servants, to occupy the posts of butler, groom, or even footman, are hardly to be procured: their salaries are in consequence quite undetermined.

Butchers' meat is somewhat above the proportionate rate of other articles, except pork, which is often as low as 3d. a pound; for the rest, beef, mutton, and veal, average 7d. Wheat is at this time only 8s. the bushel; fine flower 20s. coarse 17s. the cwt. Oatmeal is an article of general consumption, being made into flat cakes as a substitute for wheaten bread, and always used at the servant's table.

Of well fed and full grown fowls or ducks the price is 2s. 6d. the couple; a goose from 2s. 6d. to 3s. a turkey from 3s. to 5s. Fish is abundant and cheap; a good dish may almost always be had for one shilling, sometimes for half the sum. The sorts most abundant, besides herrings, are rock cod, whiting, mackerel, gurnet, haddock, with most kinds of flat fish. None of the shell fish are very plentiful, except crabs. Scollops and lobsters are to be met with in the season; the latter, large and small together, are sold for 9s. the dozen. The oysters on the coast are not good, but a supply sometimes come in from Ireland.

Wines and liquors are articles of luxury to be had on very moderate terms. Port about 28s. the dozen, which is of an excellent quality; the white wines are neither so good nor so cheap; and with regard to the former, it is much the best plan to import a pipe. This is usually done by economists; and where the quantity is too much for one family, two or more join together, and by this means procure a better article considerably under the retailer's price. Rum is 9s. the gallon, brandy 12s. geneva 10s. As a custom prevails of rewarding all small services with a glass, it is the practice with most people to be provided with an inferior sort of rum for this purpose. Ale is sold in barrels at one shilling the gallon; but this price is far beyond the average of malt and hops; and if families were to adopt the practice of brewing for their own consumption, they would find an essential saving.

Coals are from 26s. to 34s. according to quantity or scarcity, per ton. Grocery is regulated by the English

price, except tea, which is much lower. A new settler is at first much puzzled by the difference between Manx and English money. In general the prices charged in the shops are calculated on British currency, but the dealings in the market, and with the country people, are carried on usually upon the old terms of 14d. to the shilling. Butter is from 10d. to 1s. the pound; eggs twenty for a shilling on an average of the year.

All that I have now stated refers to a residence in the towns; but persons to whom a strict economy is either desirable or necessary, would in all probability find it combined with more ease and comfort at a short distance in the country, where very good family houses are easily attainable, with ten or twenty acres of land, on moderate terms. The wages of a labourer are from £12 to £14 per annum with his board; or if he maintains himself, and is a superior workman, 12s. per week in summer, and 10s. in winter. The price of a good cow in full milk is from £10 to £14 according to the size. The quantity of milk averages about four gallons per diem; two of these will supply a moderate family with seven or eight pounds of butter per week, besides the ordinary consumption of milk and cream. If, in addition, they can raise their own grain, potatoes, and poultry, the articles to be purchased with money come within a very moderate compass. I know several families of eight or ten persons who have adopted this system, and live in the utmost ease and abundance on £800 per annum, many of them *keeping a carriage*; by which, however, I mean simply a convenience for moving from place to place, combining neither show nor state, driven by the labourer in his Sunday clothes, sitting behind the same horses he at other times follows in the plough or the cart: for as there are no taxes on these sort of vehicles, nor even a turnpike to add to the charges, the first cost is the whole consideration; and this may be large or small according to the taste or the ability of the purchaser.

The foregoing estimate, I think, cannot fail to prove the assertion, that in point of expence the Isle of Man offers a favourable retreat for persons of middling fortune: for if the advantage and recommendations thus set forth, are not considered as more than a counterbalance to the few defects and inconveniences which I have stated with equal impartiality, it must be that *I* have failed in my intended description of both; or that an undue weight is given to points which, in fact, though material blemishes in the constitution, are yet far from being generally felt. In writing the history of the island, and particularly of its present state, I should have been justly chargeable with disingenuity if I had disguised or omitted palpable facts; but nothing can be more true, than that numbers have resided for years without feeling the operation of these evils, which are like a latent or an hereditary distemper, neither felt nor seen till concurring circumstances awaken or call forth the lurking evil.

A short space of time, a little correction of defects in the laws, and a hearty co-operation with future settlers, is, I am persuaded, all that is wanted to restore the island to a higher degree of prosperity than it has ever yet known. The Isle of Man has within itself the seeds both of ease and plenty; and surely the wisdom to give them due cultivation, will not be wanting in a people who have in the last few years made such rapid advances in intellectual improvement.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

Rev. Mr. Wilson's Letter to the Earl of Derby.

MY LORD,

NOTHING but a sense of duty and gratitude would have put me upon this liberty; but because I have reason to believe it concerns your lordship, I can willingly hazard all future favours your lordship designs me, rather than be silent in a matter of this moment; though I have no reason to fear any such consequences. I do, therefore, with all imaginable submission, offer these following particulars to your consideration.

First, Though several of the debts be, as your lordship urges, unjust, and, perhaps, most of the bills in part unreasonable, yet is it very probable that a great many are really just; and if these are not paid, those who suffer have just complaint to God and man, which must certainly have an ill influence on your lordship's affairs.

Secondly, That several in this neighbourhood are undone, if they are not speedily considered; they are forced to the last necessity, some to sell their estates, others to leave their country, or lie in jail for debts which are owing to them from your lordship. They come day after day

with tears and petitions, which nobody takes any notice of; and so your lordship never comes to know what they suffer. Your lordship sees what methods the rest, who are more able, are taking; and you best know what may be the consequence: but however it ends, if their demands are just, they will still have reason to complain of the wrong that is done them.

Your lordship is never suffered to know the influence these things have on your temporal affairs; but I am ready to make it out, whenever your lordship shall think it your interest to inquire into this matter, that you constantly pay one-third more for what you want than other people do. I know very few care or are concerned at this; but I cannot but see and lament this hardship, which cannot possibly be remedied till your lordship has taken some order with your creditors, and reformed those who have the disposal of your monies.

I am not able to foresee how these things will end, and one cannot tell what they may be forced to attempt. It is too likely that if any disturbance happen in the government, their wants may make them desperate, and their numbers insolent. I have been lately told, some of them have threatened some such thing. And now, my lord, if I have said any thing unbecoming me, I hope your lordship will pardon me, and think it a fault of indiscretion rather than design. I mean honestly, and that your lordship may think so, I do protest in the presence of God, that I had rather beg all my life than be so far wanting to my duty, as not to have given you these short hints, which your lordship could not possibly have, but from some faithful servant, as I presume to subscribe myself, &c. &c. &c.

THOMAS WILSON.

No. 2.

Bishop Wilson's Character of his Wife, extracted from the Prayer composed by him on her Death.

The memory of the just is blessed.—*Prov. x. 7.*

ALMIGHTY God, the author of life and death, who dost not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men; I do, in all humility, submit my will entirely to thine, most humbly beseeching thee to accept of my thanks and praise for all the graces and favours vouchsafed to my wife, now in peace; for her great modesty and meekness of spirit; for her remarkable duty to her parents, and love to her relations; for her great love to me and my friends, and for her fidelity to her marriage-vows; for her tender affection for her children, in performing all the offices of a kind and pious mother; for her peculiar care of her family, and the prudence and mildness by which she governed it; for her unaffected modesty in her own and her children's apparel, and the great humility of her conversation with all sorts of persons; for her great compassion for the poor and miserable, and her cheerful compliance with me in relieving them.

I bless thy holy name for these, and all other fruits of thy holy Spirit; but above all, I most heartily thank the Lord for her piety to him during her health, and for his mercies to her in the time of sickness; for her hearty repentance, stedfast faith in the promises of the Gospel's unfeigned charity; her humble submission to God's good pleasure, and patient suffering what his hand had laid upon her; for all the spiritual comforts the gracious God

did vouchsafe her, the opportunities of receiving the blessed sacrament, the prayers of the faithful, the ministry of absolution, and the assistance of her pious friends at the hour of death.

With these reflections I comfort my soul, stedfastly believing, that none of these graces and favours were lost upon her; but that she departed in the true faith and fear of God; and therefore I do humbly pray to thee, Oh blessed Jesus, in whose hands are the souls of the faithful, after they are delivered from the burthen of the flesh, that we may in thy good time meet in joy, and have our perfect consummation in bliss, both in body and soul, in thine eternal kingdom, &c.

See Life of Thomas Wilson, 4to. vol. I. p. 32.

No. 2.

Bishop Wilson's Address to his Children.

MY DEAR CHILDREN,

IF I do not live to tell you why I have saved no more for you out of my bishopric, let this satisfy you: that the less you have of goods gathered from the church, the better the rest that I leave you will prosper. Church livings were never designed to make families, or to raise portions out of them, but to maintain our families, to keep up our hospitality, to feed the poor, &c. And one day you will be glad that this was my settled opinion; and God grant that I may act accordingly!

Remember, that the daughter of a priest, if taken in a fault, was to be put to death under Moses's law. Lev. xxi. 9.

I never expect, and I thank God I never desire, that you or your children should ever be great; but if ever the providence of God should raise any that proceed from my loins to any degree of worldly wealth or honour, I desire they will look back to the place and person from whence they came. This will keep them humble and sober minded. But above all, I desire they will never think themselves too good to be servants.

No. 4.

Bishop Wilson's Letter to the Keys.

To the Twenty-four Keys, Representatives of the Commons of this Isle.

GENTLEMEN,

AMONG the many indignities put upon us, the bishop and vicars general, of late years, by the temporal court, that of being fined at the last Tynwald is not the least afflicting. In regard that whatsoever is said to be done at that solemn assembly, (as is the order for fining us,) will by posterity be understood to have been done with the knowledge and approbation of the whole, which consisting of the governor, council, deemsters, and twenty-four keys, we desire to know whether you, the said keys, were made acquainted with, or gave your consent to, the said order, or to our present imprisonment?

And forasmuch as we were that day openly charged with exercising a spiritual tyranny, you who dwell in several parts of this isle, may do us the justice of testifying whether you know or believe there be any just cause for so heavy, and (as we persuade ourselves) so groundless an imputation.

THOMAS SODOR AND MAN.
WILLIAM WALKER, } Vicars General.
JOHN CURGHEY. }

Dated Castle Rushen, July 10, 1722.

The Answer of the Keys.

MY LORD AND REV. GENTLEMEN,

WE the Keys of Man, as well to satisfy your lordship, and you the ecclesiastical judges, as to justify ourselves to posterity, do hereby certify and declare, that though we were present at the Tynwald during the whole time of the sitting of the court, and until the same was dismissed as usual, we were neither made acquainted with nor gave our consent to the order you mention; neither was any such order there made or concerted; and therefore we could not but be much surprised to hear of your being then fined, and afterwards imprisoned.

As to the charge of exercising a spiritual tyranny, we do solemnly testify (as we are in duty bound) that there is no cause to us known for so strange an imputation, being verily persuaded, that you have been so far from assuming to yourselves an undue authority, that the church was never better governed than in your time, nor justice more impartially administered in the ecclesiastical courts of this isle.

J. STEVENSON,	PHIL. MOORE,
ROBT. CURPHEY,	J. WATTLEWORTH, JUN.
WM. CHRISTIAN,	JAS. CHRISTIAN,
SIL. RATCLIFFE,	JOHN CURGHEY,
THOS. CORLET,	JOHN MURRAY,
JAMES BANCKES,	EDMUND CORLET,
THOS. CHRISTIAN,	JOHN CHRISTIAN.

I, Thomas Stevenson, not being present at the Tynwald, agree with my brethren only in respect of the latter clause.

THOS. STEVENSON.

Mem. Five of our members were absent at the signing hereof.

JOHN STEPHENSON.

Castletown, July 11, 1722.

See Appendix to the Life of Thomas Wilson, 4to. vol. 1, p. 112.

No. 5.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

THE humble petition of Thomas Wilson, D. D. in behalf of his father, the Bishop of Man, and the inhabitants of the island, humbly sheweth,

By the late embargo, and an act of Parliament just now passed, the corn and provisions are prohibited from being exported to the Isle of Man, from any port of the three kingdoms; by which means your petitioner's father, and the inhabitants of that place, labour under the inexpressible want of provisions, especially bread corn; so that, if not speedily relieved, many thousands are in imminent danger of being starved. And what adds to their melancholy circumstances is, that it hath pleased God to afflict them with a pestilential flux, owing, in a great measure, to the want of wholesome food.

In this deplorable case they have no other way left, but to apply to his sacred majesty, the father of his people, that he will be graciously pleased to order a certain quantity of bread corn from the ports of Liverpool or Whitehaven; they giving security that it shall be landed and expended only for the use of the inhabitants of the Isle of Man. The granting of which will for ever lay the said bishop and the inhabitants under the most lasting sense of gratitude, and the sincerest acknowledgments for a favour to which they are to owe their health and lives.

No. 6.

Letter to the King.

MAY IT PLEASE THE KING'S MOST SACRED MAJESTY

TO receive the most grateful acknowledgments of the ancient Bishop of Man, for his majesty's great condescension and late royal favour to the son of the bishop, whose obscure diocese, and remote situation, might justly have forbid him all expectations of so high a nature from a royal hand. May both the father and the son ever act worthy of so distinguishing a favour! and may the King of kings bless his majesty with all the graces and virtues which are necessary for his high station and for his eternal happiness, and enable his majesty to overcome all the difficulties he shall meet with abroad,* and bring him back to his kingdoms here in peace and safety; and finally to an everlasting kingdom hereafter; which has been and shall be the sincere and constant prayer of his majesty's most grateful, dutiful, and faithful subject and servant,

THOMAS SODOR AND MAN.

Isle of Man, May 3, 1743.

* The king was in Hanover.

Letter to his Son at the same time.

I AM both surprised and pleased with the unexpected favours conferred upon you, both by the king and the Bishop of Salisbury. I hope in God you will answer the great ends of his providence, in raising you such friends, and in putting into your hands such unlooked-for talents, in order to improve them to his glory, and to your own salvation. For my own part, I have ever received such favours with fear, lest I should be tempted to dishonour God by his own gifts; and it shall be my daily prayers for you that you may never do so. This was the case with the wisest and greatest of men, whose history and fall were part of this day's service of the church.

Enclosed you have a letter to his majesty. Perhaps, you may not approve of the style (*his* instead of *your* majesty,) but I know it to be more becoming, and will be better accepted by a foreigner, and therefore it shall pass.

I have also written to the Bishop of Salisbury, to whom my most grateful service and thanks. According to my notion of writing to his majesty, I ought not to have subscribed my name; but I have done it, lest you should have thought otherwise.

No. 7.

Heads of a Bill, proposed in Tynwald, for Amendment of the Criminal Law.

ISLE of Man to wit.—WHEREAS, by an act of Tynwald, promulgated in the year of our Lord 1737, it is enacted, that "No court, judge, or magistrate, within this isle whatsoever, shall have power or authority for the future to impose or inflict any fines or punishment upon any person or persons within the said isle, for or on account of any criminal cause whatsoever, until he, she, or they be first convicted by the verdict or presentment of four, six, or more men, as the case shall require, upon some statute law in force in the said isle." And whereas doubts have been entertained whether such act of Tynwald extends to treasons and felonies at and by the common law of the island, or only to other smaller crimes, offences, and misdemeanors.—We therefore, &c. And be it enacted, &c. &c. That the said act of Tynwald shall not be construed to extend to any treason or felony which subsists at, by, and under the common law of the island.—And whereas it is expedient that certain treasons, felonies, misdemeanors, crimes, and offences should be described with greater certainty than has hitherto been done by the laws of the island; and that certain other crimes and offences should be enacted and declared to be treasons, felonies, and misdemeanors.—Be it therefore further enacted,

TREASONS.

1. That the felonious and traitorous compassing or imagining the death of our sovereign lord the king, of our

lady the queen, or of their eldest son and heir, is and shall be held to be *high treason*, and punishable by death.

2. That the felonious and traitorous violation of the king's companion, or king's eldest daughter, unmarried, or the wife of the king's eldest son and heir, is and shall be held to be *high treason*, and punishable by death.

3. That the felonious and traitorous levying war against our sovereign lord the king in his realm, is and shall be held to be *high treason*, and punishable by death.

4. That the felonious and traitorous adhering to the king's enemies in his realm, the giving them aid and comfort in the realm, or elsewhere, is and shall be held to be *high treason*, and punishable by death.

5. That the felonious and traitorous counterfeiting the king's great seal, or privy seal, or his sign manual, or privy signet, is and shall be held to be *high treason*, and punishable by death.

6. That the felonious and traitorous counterfeiting the king's money, or the bringing false money into the said isle, counterfeit to the king's coin, knowing such money to be false, to merchandize, and making payment withal, is and shall be held to be *high treason*, and punishable by death.

7. That the felonious and traitorous slaying the king's governor, the king's lieutenant governor, the members of the council, or any of them, the deemsters, or either of them, the keys, or any of them, being in their places, doing their offices, is and shall be held to be *high treason*, and punishable by death. And be it further enacted, &c. That nothing shall be adjudged to be high treason in the said isle, but what is in and by this act enacted, declared, and described to be high treason, and that no person or persons shall be attainted of any of the treasons enacted, declared, and described by this act, except on some open and overt act and deed, charged against him, her, or them.

FELONIES.

8. That the unlawful and felonious killing of another, with malice aforethought, either express or implied, is and shall be held to be felony and *murder*, and punishable by death.

9. That the felonious ravishment and carnal knowledge of a woman, against her will, is and shall be held to be felony and *rape*, and punishable by death.

10. That the felonious ravishment and carnal knowledge of a female child, under the age of ten years, either with or without her consent, is and shall be held to be felony and *rape*, and punishable by death.

11. That the felonious and carnal knowledge, against the order of nature, by mankind with mankind, or with brute beast, is and shall be held to be felony and *buggery*, and punishable by death.

12. That the felonious breaking and entering into the dwelling-house of another by night, with an intention to commit a felony, any person or persons being then inhabiting in such house, is and shall be held to be felony and *burglary*, and punishable by death.

13. That the felonious, wilful, and malicious burning of the house, mill, out-house, office, barn, stable, ship, boat, or vessel, of another, any person or persons being then in any such building, ship, boat, or vessel, other than the perpetrator or perpetrators of such burning, or aiding and assisting therein, is and shall be held to be felony and *arson*, and punishable by death.—And that the felonious, wilful, and malicious burning of any stack of corn, stack of hay, stack of straw, stack of furze, stack of turf, stack of ling, stack of fern, stack of wood, or stack of potatoe haulm, of another, any such stacks being adjoining to any house, out-house, office, barn, or stable, in any of which buildings any person or persons shall then be, other than the perpetrator or perpetrators of such burning, or the

aiding and assisting therein, is and shall be held to be felony and *arson*, and punishable by death.

14. That the felonious and forcible stealing, taking, and carrying away from the person of another, of goods or money, of any value, by violence, or putting such person in fear, is and shall be held to be felony and *robbery*, and punishable by death.

15. That the felonious *returning from transportation*, or the being seen at large within the said isle, without lawful cause, before the expiration of the term for which the offender was ordered to be transported, or had agreed to transport himself, or herself, is and shall be held to be felony, and punishable by death.

16. That the felonious and false making, *forging*, counterfeiting, or altering, or causing, or procuring to be falsely made, forged, counterfeited, or altered, or the willingly acting or assisting in the false making, forging, counterfeiting, or altering any act of Tynwald, or any decree, judgment, or execution, or any record or process of any of the courts of the said isle, or any verdict of any jury, or deposition of any witness, duly taken and signed by or before any court, magistrate, or jury, within the said isle, or any deed, charter, writing sealed, court roll, will, writing testamentary, bond, writing obligatory, memorial of the inrolment or registration of any deed or will, bill of exchange, promissory note for the payment of money, acquittance, receipt, either for money or goods, release or discharge of any debt, account, action, suit, or demand, the number of any principal sum of any accountable receipt for any note, bill, or other security, for the payment of money, or any warrant or order for payment of money, or delivery of goods, with the intention to defraud any person or corporation whatsoever, is and shall be held to be *forgery* and felony, and punishable by death, or transportation for life, at the discretion of the court of general gaol delivery, according to the malignity of the offence.

17. That the felonious *uttering, or publishing as true, any false*, forged, counterfeited, or altered act of Tynwald, or any decree, judgment, or execution, or any record or process of any of the courts, or any verdict of any jury, or deposition of any witness, duly taken and signed by or before any court, magistrate, or jury, within the said isle, or any deed, charter, writing sealed, court roll, will, writing testamentary, bond, writing obligatory, memorial of the inrolment or registration of any deed or will, bill of exchange, promissory note for the payment of money, indorsement, assignment, or acceptance of any bill of exchange, or promissory note for the payment of money, acquittance or receipt, either for money or goods, release or discharge for any debt, account, action, suit or other demand, the number of any principal sum of any accountable receipt for any note, bill, or other security for the payment of money, or any warrant or order for the payment of money or delivery of goods, with the intention to defraud any person or corporation whatsoever, knowing the same to be false, forged, counterfeited, or altered, is and shall be held to be felony, and punishable by death or transportation for life.—And be it enacted, that an act of Tynwald, passed in the year of our Lord 1797, *intituled*, "An Act for the punishment of Forgery, &c." shall, as to all offences which shall be committed after the promulgation of this act, be and stand repealed.

18. That the felonious and unlawful stealing, taking, and carrying away of the personal goods of another, of the value of ten shillings or more, is and shall be held to be *grand larceny*, and punishable by death, or transportation for life, at the discretion of the court.—Provided, nevertheless, that the felonious and unlawful *stealing, taking, and carrying away of one or more sheep*, or of any lamb, goat, or kid, of whatsoever value the same respectively may be, is and shall be held to be grand larceny, and punishable by transportation for life.

19. That the felonious *receiving of stolen goods, of the value of ten shillings* or more, knowing them to be stolen, is and shall be held to be felony, and punishable by death, or transportation for life, at the court's discretion.

20. That the felonious, wilful, and *malicious burning* of the house, mill, out-house, office, barn, stable, ship, boat, or vessel of another, or others, no person or persons being then therein, other than the perpetrator or perpetrators of such burning, or aiding and assisting therein; and that the felonious, wilful, and malicious burning of the stack of corn, stack of hay, stack of straw, stack of furze, stack of turf, stack of fern, stack of potatoe haulm, or stack of wood, of another, none of such stacks being adjoining to any house, out-house, office, barn, or stable, in any of which buildings any person or persons shall then be, other than the perpetrator or perpetrators of such burning, or aiding and assisting therein, are and shall be respectively held to be felony and *arson*, and punishable by transportation for life.

21. That the felonious, wilful, and *malicious shooting* at any person, with intent to slay or wound such person, where death does not ensue, &c. is and shall be held to be felony, and punishable by transportation for life.

22. That the felonious, violent, and *malicious wounding*, disabling, mutilating, and disfiguring of another, is and shall be held to be felony and *maykern*, and punishable by transportation for seven or fourteen years, at the discretion of the court.

MISDEMEANORS.

23. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that the making a *wilful, corrupt, and false oath*, in any matter or cause, legally depending in any suit or variance, by any warrant, citation, process, writ, action, bill, libel, complaint, petition, information, or indictment,

in any of the courts within the said isle, or before any magistrate, jury, person or persons, duly authorized by the laws of the said isle, to administer such oath, is and shall be held to be wilful and corrupt *perjury*, and a high misdemeanor, and punishable by fine, and imprisonment, and the loss of an ear, to be taken off at the public market-place.

24. That the unlawful and corruptly *causing or procuring* any person to commit wilful and corrupt perjury as aforesaid, is and shall be held to be *subornation of perjury*, and punishable by fine, and imprisonment, and the loss of an ear.

25 That the falsely and designedly obtaining any monies, goods, wares, or merchandises, from any person or persons, by means of any false token, counterfeit letter, or by any other false pretence or pretences whatsoever, with the intention to cheat or defraud any person or persons, is and shall be held to be *cheating and swindling*, and a misdemeanor, punishable by fine and imprisonment, and corporal punishment.

26. That the knowingly *sending or delivering any letter or letters*, with or without a name or names subscribed thereto, or signed by a fictitious name or names, letter or letters, threatening to accuse any person or persons of any crime, punishable by the laws of the said isle, with intent to extort or gain money, goods, wares, or merchandises, is and shall be held to be a misdemeanor, and punishable by fine and imprisonment, and corporal punishment.

27. That the unlawful stealing, taking, and carrying away of the personal goods of another, under the value of ten shillings, is and shall be held to be *petty larceny*, and a misdemeanor, punishable by fine and imprisonment, and corporal punishment.

28. That the doing of *wilful and malicious mischief* and damage to any of the buildings, lands, trees, shrubs, mounds, dikes, fences, ships, boats, horses, sheep, cattle,

or to any other goods and chattels of another, shall be proceeded against in the manner prescribed in and by an act of Tynwald, passed in the year 1753, intituled, "An Act for the better preventing Petty Larceny and Trespass," and shall be punishable as a misdemeanor by fine and imprisonment, besides compensation to the party aggrieved, in the manner prescribed by the said act.

29. That the unlawful killing of another, without malice either express or implied, is and shall be held to be *man-slaughter*, and a misdemeanor, punishable by fine and imprisonment, and corporal punishment. Provided that, in all trials for murder, if the jury shall be of opinion, and find that the party accused has been guilty of man-slaughter only, the said jury shall, by their verdict, find him or her guilty of manslaughter; and that, in all trials for manslaughter, if the jury shall be of opinion, and find that the party accused has been guilty of murder, the said jury shall, by their verdict, indict him or her as for murder.

30. That if any woman shall *conceal her being with child*, during the whole period of her pregnancy, and shall not call for aid, and make use of help and assistance in the birth, and the said child shall be found dead or missing, such mother shall be held to be guilty of a misdemeanor, punishable by fine and imprisonment; provided, nevertheless, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to discharge the mother of any such child from trial and punishment for murder, in case it shall appear that such child shall have been murdered by such mother, or by her procurement.

31. That the malicious striking and making *affray in any of the Courts of Justice of the island*, or the using threatening and reproachful words to the judge or court, the judge or court being then sitting, is and shall be held to be a misdemeanor, and punishable by fine and imprisonment.

32. That the wilfully *obstructing the execution of law-*

ful process; that the *breaking prison* by a person lawfully imprisoned; that the *forcible rescuing*, or attempting to rescue a person who shall be lawfully imprisoned; that *the escaping*, or attempting to escape, by a person lawfully arrested; that the voluntarily permitting, or negligently *suffering, a person to escape*, who shall be lawfully arrested or confined, are and shall be severally held to be misdemeanors, punishable by fine and imprisonment.—Provided always, and be it further enacted and declared, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to affect, abridge, or alter, the power of courts of justice and magistrates to punish contempts as formerly accustomed; and that the house of keys, the clerk of the rolls, and the registers of the ecclesiastical courts, when in the execution of their respective offices, have, and shall have, the power of punishing contempts in like manner as any court or magistrate within the said isle.

33. That the *receiving of stolen goods*, under the value of ten shillings, is and shall be held to be a misdemeanor, and punishable by fine and imprisonment, and corporal punishment.

34. That the *compounding any treason, felony*, or misdemeanor, or the taking money or goods from a person accused of any crime, to forbear to prosecute, is and shall be held to be a misdemeanor, and punishable by fine and imprisonment, and corporal punishment.—And that so much, or such part of an act of Tynwald, promulgated in the year of our Lord 1737, as regards the compounding or agreeing not to proceed in any criminal prosecution, shall, as to all offences to be committed after the promulgation of this act, be and stand repealed.

35. That the *bribing*, or attempting to bribe, any magistrate or person connected in the administration of justice, to do any thing contrary to the duties of his office; or for any magistrate or person concerned in the administration of justice, to accept, or offer to accept a bribe, to do any

thing contrary to the duties of his office, is and shall be held to be a high misdemeanor, punishable by fine and imprisonment, and disqualification to serve his majesty in any place of public trust.

36. That the *attempting to influence a jury*, or any of the jurors, corruptly by promises, persuasions, entreaties, money, entertainment, or the like; or for the jury or any of the jurors to be so corruptly influenced, is and shall be held to be a misdemeanor, and punishable by fine and imprisonment.

37. That the *stirring up suits* and quarrels between his majesty's subjects, either by law or otherwise, is and shall be held to be a misdemeanor and barratry, and punishable by fine and imprisonment.

38. That the *assembling of three persons or more* together, with an intent mutually to assist one another against any who shall oppose them in the execution of some enterprise of a private nature, with force and violence against the peace, or to the manifest terror of the people, whether the act intended were of itself lawful or not, such assembling is and shall be held to be an *unlawful assembly*, and the persons concerned shall be punishable as for a misdemeanor, by fine and imprisonment.—And if three persons or more shall violently, riotously, and in a tumultuous manner, against the public peace, and to the manifest terror of the people, do any act, whether lawful or unlawful, such persons are and shall be held to be guilty of a riot, and shall be punishable as for a misdemeanor, by fine and imprisonment.

39. That the *violently entering* into the possession of lands or tenements in the occupation of another, with menaces and force, without authority of law, is and shall be held to be a *forcible entry* and misdemeanor, punishable by fine and imprisonment.

40. That the unlawful keeping possession of lands or tenements, by menaces and force, is and shall be held to

be a *forcible detainer*, and a misdemeanor, and punishable by fine and imprisonment.

41. That the *spreading false news*, knowing the same to be false, with intention to produce discord, and tumults, and strife, between his majesty's subjects, shall be held to be a misdemeanor, and punishable by fine and imprisonment.

42. That the *challenging another*, by word or letter, to fight with deadly weapons, either expressed or implied, or knowingly to be the bearer of such challenge, shall be held to be a misdemeanor, and punishable by fine and imprisonment.

43. That the *assaulting another, with an intent to commit murder*, rape, or robbery, or any other capital crime, is and shall be held to be felony, and punishable by transportation for life, or for any term of years, not less than fourteen, at the discretion of the court.—Provided, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to extend to do away or alter the mode of proceeding in a summary way, without a jury in cases of common battery or passionate and provoking words, as heretofore accustomed.—Provided also, and be it enacted, that the fines imposed by an ordinance made in the year of our Lord 1661, for batteries and passionate words, provoking the same, and recognised by an act of Tynwald, promulgated in the year of our Lord 1737, be respectively altered and increased in manner following; that is to say, that the fine upon each offender in cases of common battery, shall be any sum not exceeding forty shillings, nor less than ten shillings; and that the fine upon each offender in cases of provoking language, shall be any sum not exceeding fifty shillings, nor less than thirteen shillings and fourpence, according to the degree and nature of the offence, as the court or magistrate shall think proper to affix, order, and award the same.—And that the committing a common assault, without a blow being struck, or battery actually committed,

shall be tried and punished in like manner as a common battery, as before mentioned.

44. That the having two wives or two husbands at the same time, shall be held to be *bigamy* and a misdemeanor, and punishable by fine and imprisonment, unless one of the parties has been continually abroad for seven years, or unless one of the parties has been absent within the island for seven years, and the remaining party has no knowledge of the other's being alive within that time, or unless there has been a legal divorce between the parties.

45. That the *malicious defaming* or injuring another, by publishing any libellous printing, writing, sign, or picture, concerning him or her, in order to provoke him or her to wrath, or to expose him or her to public hatred, contempt, or ridicule; or the scandalous publishing of any obscene, indecent, or immoral picture, printing, or writing, are and shall be severally held to be misdemeanors, punishable by fine and imprisonment.

46. That *all unlawful, indecent, and scandalous actings* and doings, not herein before specified, to the disturbance of the public peace, and against good order and good morals, of notorious evil example, are and shall be held to be misdemeanors, and punishable by fine and imprisonment.

PUNISHMENT.

And be it further enacted, &c. That all and every person or persons who shall be lawfully convicted of any of the treasons, felonies, misdemeanors, and offences herein before particularly described, enacted, and declared, shall be liable to, and shall suffer such capital punishment, transportation, corporal punishment, imprisonment, and fine, as to each respective treason, felony, misdemeanor, and offence, is herein before severally appointed, specified, declared, and annexed.—Provided always, that in cases of felony, no imprisonment shall be for a longer period than nor less than

save and except in such cases as are herein and hereby otherwise declared and enacted; and that in cases of misdemeanor, no imprisonment shall be for a longer period than two years, nor less than three months, and no fine to a greater amount than five hundred pounds.

TRIAL FOR TREASON AND FELONY.

And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all the said treasons and felonies shall be tried in the Court of General Gaol Delivery, upon the prosecution of his Majesty's attorney-general of the said isle, for the time being, for, and in the name and behalf of the King, and upon indictments previously found in the accustomed manner of finding indictments in cases of treason and felony, by the law of the said isle.

TRIAL FOR MISDEMEANORS.

And that the said misdemeanors shall be tried either upon information preferred by the attorney-general, in the name and on the behalf of our Sovereign Lord the King, or by petition, at the instance of a private prosecutor or prosecutors, in the presence of the deemsters, or one of them, by and before a jury of six good and lawful men of the sheading, wherein the party or parties accused, or some, or one of them, do or shall reside, or of such other sheading as may be ordered, on good cause shown, which jury shall be impannelled, by order or warrant of a deemster, and shall consist of an equal number of men from and out of each and every parish within such sheading; and that it shall be lawful for a deemster, on complaint lodged, by information or petition as aforesaid, and affidavit made to the truth thereof, to issue his order or warrant for apprehending and imprisoning any person or persons, charged with having committed any of the said misdemeanors, until he, she, or they, give in good and sufficient security, at the discretion of such deemster, to appear and

stand trial for such misdemeanor, when thereunto lawfully required.

And be it further enacted, that prosecutions for such misdemeanors shall be commenced, and effectually prosecuted within two months from the time of the apprehending and imprisoning of any person or persons charged with having committed any of the said misdemeanors, and not afterwards, unless good cause be shown to the said deemster why the same should be postponed.—And that, whenever, and as often as any person or persons so charged as aforesaid, shall have been so apprehended and imprisoned, such person or persons shall have it in his, her, or their power to apply for, and bring on his, her, or their trial, and shall also be entitled to, and obtain, such time for making his, her, or their defence as the deemster, on application made, shall think reasonable.—Provided always, that in all prosecutions for grand larceny, if the jury by whom the same shall be tried, shall be of opinion, and find that the goods stolen are under the value of ten shillings, such jury shall proceed and find a verdict as for petty larceny.

And that, in all prosecutions for petty larceny, if the jury by whom the same shall be tried, shall be of opinion, and find that the goods stolen are of the value of ten shillings, or more, such jury shall proceed, and, by their verdict, indict the offender or offenders of grand larceny.—And be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that the several provisions and enactments, respecting grand larceny and petty larceny, contained and enacted in and by an act of Tynwald passed in the year of our Lord 1629, and also in and by an act of Tynwald passed in the year of our Lord 1753, shall, as to all offences which shall be committed after the promulgation of this act, be, and the same are hereby severally repealed.

Manx Coin.

ITS ancient bearing was a ship; but the arms are now, and have been for centuries, *Gules*, three armed legs proper, or rather argent, conjoined in fess at the upper part of the thigh, fleshed in triangle, garnished and spurred topaz. So long as the King of Man wrote "*Rex Mannise et Insularum*," they bore the ship; but when the Scots had possession, with the Western Islands, the legs were substituted. It has been said of the three legs, that with the *toe* of the one they spurn at Ireland, with the *spur* of the other they kick at Scotland, and with the third they bend to England.

In 1733, the impression on the copper circulation was the arms of Man, three legs, with J. D. between the bend and the motto (as now) "*Quocunque Jeceris Stabit;*" on the reverse, the eagle and the child on a chapeau, motto "*San Changer;*" beneath the chapeau, the date. In 1758, the Ducal coronet, with a cipher A. D. with the date under: the reverse, as before, without the initials J. D. In 1786, the King's head, with the date under, motto "*Georgius III. Dei Gratia;*" the reverse as before.

The three legs refer to the relative situation of the Island with respect to the neighbouring nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, previous to the union between any two of these; since which the symbol entirely loses its propriety, and has become obsolete and unmeaning. While England, Scotland, and Ireland, were belligerent nations, the existence of Monabia as an independent state, must depend on an armed neutrality, and the alternate protection which it might be able to challenge from any one, against the hostile aggressions of the other two.

The legs are *armed*,—which denotes *self-defence*. The spurs denote *speed;* and while in whatever position they

are placed, two of them fall into the attitude of supplication; the third, which will be upward and behind, appears to be kicking at the assailant, against whom the other two are imploring protection. The *vis* of the symbol is, that if England should seek to oppress it, it would soon engage Ireland or Scotland; if either of these should assail it, it would hasten to call England to its defence. The motto, which is an Iambic Dimeter—QUOCUNQUE JECERIS STABIT—*Which ever way you throw it, it will stand*, is very ingeniously contrived to agree, both in sense and style, with the intention and attitude of the legs, whether taken in English or Latin. You cannot change the position of the legs in the plain, so as to alter their attitude, and no transposition of the words will change their sense. The occult moral of this emblem presents the instructive parable of—"A brave man struggling with the storms of fate."

The character is constituted by the conjunction of humility, energy, and fortitude. His attitude is that of supplication; but it is at the same time that of activity. He is only on one knee: with one limb he implores assistance, with two he serves himself. With the sense of dependence on strength superior to his own, he combines the most strenuous exertion of his own energies: to the modesty of supplication, he conjoins the discretion of armour and the activity of the spur. Whatever lot Providence may apportion to such a man,—wherever it shall cast him, he will stand.

READER, thou'st seen a falling cat
Light always on its legs so pat;
A shuttlecock will still descend,
Meeting the ground with nether end:—
The persevering Manxman thus
A shuttlecock or pauvre puss,
However thro' the world he's tost—
However disappointed, crost,

Reverses, losses, Fortune's frown;
No chance or change can keep him down:
Upset him any way you will,
Upon his legs you find him still;
For ever active, brisk, and spunky,
"*Stabit, jeceris, quocunque.*"

Traditions and Superstitions.

THERE are but few records of the Island. The greatest part of them, in troublesome times, were carried away by the Norwegians, and deposited among the archives of Drunton, in Norway, where it is alleged they still remain: though it is reported, a Mr. Stevenson, a worthy merchant of Dublin, a few years since offered the then Bishop of Drunton a considerable sum of money for the purchase of them, designing to restore and present them to the Island; but the Bishop would not part with them on any terms. The loss of these ancient records renders it impossible to ascertain how long the Island has been discovered, or by whom; and to make up this deficiency, they relate the following marvellous history:

Some hundred years (say they) before the coming of our Saviour, the Isle of Man was inhabited by a certain species called *Fairies*, and that every thing was carried on in a kind of supernatural manner; that a blue mist, continually hanging over the land, prevented the ships that passed by from having any suspicion there was an Island. This mist, contrary to the laws of nature, was preserved by keeping a perpetual fire, which happening once to be extinguished, discovered itself to some fishermen who were then in a boat on their vocation, and by them notice was given to the people of some country, (but what they do

not pretend to determine) who sent ships in order to make a farther discovery: that, on their landing, they had a fierce encounter with the little people (the fairies), and having got the better of them, possessed themselves of Castle Rushin or Rushen, and by degrees (as they received reinforcements) of the whole Island. These new conquerors maintained their ground some time, but were at length vanquished by a race of giants, who were not extirpated until the reign of Prince Arthur, by Merlin, the famous British enchanter, who, by the force of magic, dislodged the greatest part of them, and bound the rest in spells which they believe will be indissoluble to the end of the world. They pretend also, that this Island afterwards became an asylum to all the distressed Princes and great men in Europe, and that those uncommon fortifications made about Peel Castle were added for their better security; but of this we shall treat hereafter.

The tradition of what happened on suffering the domestic fire to be extinct, remained in such credit with them, that hardly a family in the Island, but kept a small fire continually burning: every one, at that time, confidently believing that if no fire were to be found, most terrible revolutions and mischiefs would have immediately ensued.

It is ignorance which is the cause of these excessive superstitions; but these few hints are not sufficient to show the world what a MANXMAN formerly was, and what power the prejudice of education had over weak minds. If books at one time had been of any use among them, one would have imagined that the Count of Gabalis had been not only translated into the Manx tongue, but that it was a sort of rule of faith to them; since there is hardly a fictitious being mentioned by him in his book of absurdities, to which they would not readily have given credit. It is doubtful, idolizers of the clergy as they once were, whether they would not have been refractory even to them, had they preached against the existence of fairies, or even

against their being commonly seen; for though the priesthood were a kind of gods among them, yet still tradition was a greater god than they; and as they confidently asserted that the first inhabitants of their island were fairies, so they maintained, that these airy beings had still their residence among them. They called them the *good people*, and said they lived in wilds or forests and on mountains, and shunned great cities, because of the wickedness committed therein. All the houses were blest where the fairies visited, because they fled from vice. A person would once have been thought impudently profane, who should have suffered his family to go to bed, without having first set a tub or pail full of clean water for these guests to bathe themselves in, which the natives averred they constantly did, as soon as ever the eyes of the family closed, wherever they vouchsafed to come. If any thing happened to be mislaid, and found again in some place where it was not expected, they told you a fairy took it and returned it: if you chanced to fall and hurt yourself, a fairy laid something in your way, to throw you down, as a punishment for some sin you had committed.

The Scenery of the Island; Longevity of the Islanders, &c.

THE inhabitants, like the Swiss and Highlanders, are warmly attached to their native mountains, and not without reason; for the whole country is, in a high degree, beautiful, there scarcely being any of the same extent that can equal it in scenes of romantic grandeur. It has been considered by many judges of the picturesque, as inferior in these qualities to the Isle of Wight, only from its being destitute of the same luxuriant growth of wood. Let the

lovers of the romantic travel no farther than to the distance of about two furlongs, from the southern extremity of the Isle, where is a small rocky Island, called the Calf of Man. This is fenced round by gloomy caverns and stupendous precipices; is tenanted by a great variety of sea fowl, which form a most striking and picturesque scene on the water, sitting in innumerable tiers one above another, and adorning with their white breasts the dark and towering rocks which encircle the Island,—their shrill discordant tones increasing the effect of the sensations that arise from the wildness of the scenery. The surface is rather barren; but there is every thing bearing the character of the sublime, tending to raise the bolder emotions of the mind, rather than amuse it with gentle sensations. The eye is regaled from its heights with the azure vault of heaven, and beneath, the briny surface is covered with swelling sails, either impelled with the cheerful breeze, or agitated by bleak winds or driving storms, while the surrounding earth presents a verdure—wild and innocent. On the edge of an awful precipice is the remains of an hermitage, said to have been the retreat of a person, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, who imposed on himself a residence in this dreary solitude, as a penance for having murdered a beautiful woman, in a fit of jealousy.

The longevity of the inhabitants is proverbial; but it is chiefly confined to the natives, and to those only who pass their lives in rural occupations, breathing the mountain air, habituated to early hours, living on simple diet, remote from the more populous towns, and unsophisticated by the refinements and luxuries of high life; for where these creep in and diffuse their baneful influence, it would be as absurd to look for the venerable head, silvered o'er with age, the ruddy countenance, and the vigorous strength of patriarchal times, as to hope to extract ice from a sunbeam, or fire from the mountain snow. Candidates for longevity, cannot expect to attain this distinction by merely

migrating to a country celebrated for it, unless they conform to the simplicity of nature, and study her salutary rules, who teaches her votaries to banish all superficial wants. And although it cannot be doubted, but that the free use of ardent spirits tends to shorten the scanty pittance of human existence, it is yet matter of surprise, that, in a country like the Isle of Man, where the *dram*, from its inferior price, is universally accessible, there are not to be found more instances of fatal devotedness to intoxication. The generality of the Manx may be distinguished for sobriety: slaves to riot and debauchery are to be found every where.

The following epitaph on a tombstone, in the churchyard of Kk. St. Ann, (generally called Kk. Santon) in this Island, proves the truth of these observations, showing also, that the "miserable conceit" of punning on the dead, survived longer in the Isle of Man than in any other country:—

TO THE MEMORY OF DANIEL TEAR,

Who died Dec. 9, 1787—*aged* 110.

HERE, friend, is little Daniel's tomb:
To Joseph's years he did arrive;
Sloth killing thousands in their bloom,
While labour kept poor Dan alive.
How strange, yet true, full seventy years
Was his wife happy in her *Tears*.

N.B. This person was a native. Sir Wadsworth Busk, Attorney-General of the Island, erected the stone, and wrote the verses; but it was generally thought he was really older than 110.

EXTRACT

FROM THE

JOURNAL OF A MODERN TRAVELLER;

OR,

A Trip with the Manx Herring-Fleet

IN 1821.

IN the month of September I arrived at Peel. It was the height of the season for the herring-fishing; and just at this time the shoals were lying along that part of the coast which extends from Peel Castle to the Calf of Man. A great proportion of the male population of the island were consequently drawn to this place. It is from the herring-fishery that a great part of their subsistence is derived. There are few families of the interior, even those who reside in the most sequestered glens, or on its highest mountains, who do not delegate some of their members to share the scaly produce of the sea. The traveller who, at this season, passes round the island, can form but a very inadequate idea of its inhabitants. He may see, on every hand, the laborious females plying the sickle, and in long ranks of twenty or more sweeping away the golden produce of the fields. But of men, he will see few, except such as by age and infirmity are disqualified, or by sufficiency disinclined, to try their fortune on the propitious ocean, which for centuries has brought its treasures to the shores of Man. It is computed that not less than 3500 are annually employed in the herring-fishery. If the stranger should chance to be pursuing his journey on the Saturday,

he will notice groups of these marine adventurers returning to their rustic dwellings to pass the sabbath in rest and devotion. Indeed, in this respect, they are a laudable example to fishermen of other countries. If their sentiments be even charged with somewhat of superstition, they are such as are truly delightful to a Christian observer. Such deeply-rooted prejudices, in favour of religious observances, can only be the result of a system of pastoral care and holy instructions with which this island was favoured many generations ago. At this day, their religious prejudices are so strong against the practice of employing the Sabbath in fishing, or even going out late on a Sabbath evening, though they must necessarily wait till the same hour on the Monday evening, that it would not be in the power of any logic or rhetoric, any gain or necessity, to induce them to desecrate any part of God's day of rest by their sea-faring occupations.* It is devoutly to be wished that this sacred feeling (call it *superstition* if you please) may long continue. If these hardy islanders would have Zebulon's blessing, "to suck of the abundance of seas, and of treasures hid in the sand," they will ever do well to pay the homage of awful reverence to that supreme Being whose "way is in the sea, and whose path in the great waters;" and who, in a just "controversy with the inhabitants of the land," might say, "The fishes of the sea shall be taken away." (Hosea iv. 1, 3.)

The return of these countrymen on Monday to the place of rendezvous, where the fleet has remained at anchor during the day of holy rest, is not a little interesting. Every Manxman musters his pony, accoutred with a *rustic*

* The herrings being fish of *passage*, it has been pronounced lawful by the Church of *Rome* to employ the Sabbath in fishing for them; *and a whole* chapter in the *Decretals* is assigned to the discussion: but, on this subject, we may rejoice that the Manxman's religion is proof against the *pope's* infallibility.

saddle, composed of old stockings, sheep-skins, and pack-thread, shouldering his white bag filled with his homely food for a week's consumption; and plods away with his home-made sandals to his appointed harbour. It is not unusual for his wife, and one or two of his children, to accompany the cavalcade, riding the meagre nag; and with fervent wishes for their good fortune, cheering the road with domestic hilarity, and desiring to see the last of the parent-fisherman.

You may, from these circumstances, in some degree imagine the busy scene of preparation which was taking place on my arrival at Peel. The weather was fine, the wind favourable, and on every hand this plodding community were as full of transactions as can be conceived. The fishermen were converging from every quarter, bending beneath the load of nets which they were conveying to their respective boats; and a strange hollaing and bustling in a crowded harbour, while taking advantage of the returning tide, prevailed in every quarter. An anxiety to ascertain every information relative to the fishery carried me round among the busy throng; but not being satisfied with the usual currency of the answers given to strangers, I resolved to take *a night's excursion with the fleet*, when, away from the intrusion of the objects on shore, I might contemplate, from the actual scene of operations, what was justly anticipated to be a highly interesting spectacle.

Before we enter upon the detail of our nocturnal occupations, it may be necessary to give a general idea of those *migrations* which bring to this quarter a portion of the countless myriads of herrings which traverse the ocean.

Herring is a word derived from the German *heor*, an army, which expresses their number when they migrate into our seas.

"Herrings are chiefly found in the North sea. In those inaccessible seas, that are covered with ice during a great part of the year, the herrings find a quiet and safe retreat

from all their numerous enemies: there neither man, nor their still more destructive enemy, the sun-fish, or the cachalot, the most voracious of the whale kind, dares to pursue them. It is true, there are fisheries elsewhere, but none so copious. It hath been observed, that the arrival of the herrings on the coast of Shetland is certain, and almost to a day, on or before the 22d of June.

"It is commonly said, that nobody ever saw a herring alive, and that they die the minute they are taken out of the water; but there are instances to the contrary.

"The herring is a fish of passage; so that it is allowed to catch them on holidays and Sundays: in the Decretal there is an express chapter to this effect.

"The winter rendezvous of the herrings is probably the icy sea, within the arctic circle; as this sea swarms with insect food in greater abundance than in our warmer latitudes. From this sea the great colony of these fishes sets out about the middle of winter; and this colony is composed of such numbers as to exceed the power of imagination. But they have no sooner left their retreats than they have to encounter with a multitude of enemies. The sun-fish and cachalot devour them in great abundance; and besides, the porpus, the grampus, the shark, cod-fish, haddocks, pollocks, and the numerous tribe of dog-fish, find them an easy prey, and desist from making war upon one another. To these enemies we may add innumerable flocks of sea-fowl that chiefly inhabit the northern regions towards the pole, which watch the outset of their perilous migration, and spread among them extensive ruin. In this state of danger, the defenceless emigrants crowd closer together, as if they could thus secure themselves against the attacks of their enemies. The main body begins to separate, at a certain latitude, into two great divisions; one of which moves to the west, and pours down along the coasts of America, as far south as Carolina, and becomes so numerous in the Chesapeak bay as to be a nuisance to

the shores. The other division takes a more eastern direction towards Europe, and falls in with the great island of Iceland about the beginning of March. Upon their arrival on that coast, their phalanx, which hath already suffered considerable diminution, is nevertheless found to be of such extent, depth, and closeness, as to occupy a surface equal to the dimensions of Great Britain and Ireland; but subdivided into columns of 5 or 6 miles in length, and 3 or 4 in breadth; each line or column being led, according to the ideas of fishermen, by herrings of more than ordinary size. The herrings swim near the surface, sinking occasionally for 10 or fifteen minutes. The forerunners of those who visit the British kingdoms appear off Shetland in April or May, and the grand body begins to be perceived in June. Their approach is known to the fishers by a small rippling of the water, the reflection of their brilliancy, and the number of soland geese, or gannets, and other aerial persecuters, who are eager to devour them, and who, with the marine attendants, may serve to drive shoals of them into bays and creeks, where many thousands of them are taken every night from June till September. Although the Shetland islands break and separate the grand body of the herrings into two divisions, they still continue their course towards the south. One division proceeds along the east side of Britain, and pays its tribute to the Orkneys, the Murray firth, the coasts of Aberdeen, Angus, and Fife, the great river Forth, the coast of Scarborough, and particularly the projecting land at Yarmouth, the ancient and only mart of herrings in England, where they appear in October, and are found in considerable quantities till Christmas. The other division pursues its course from the Shetland islands, along the west side of Britain; and these are observed to be larger and fatter than those on the east side. After passing the Shetland and the Orkney isles, they crowd in amazing quantities into the lakes, bays, and narrow channels of the shires of Sutherland, Ross,

and Inverness; which, with the Hebride isles, especially the Long island, form the greatest stationary herring fishery in Britain; that upon the coast of Shetland excepted. Sometimes this shoal, in its southern progress, edges close upon the extensive coast of Argyleshire; fills every bay and creek; and visits, in small detachments, the firth of Clyde, Lochfine, and other lakes within the entrance of that river; the coast of Ayrshire, and of Galloway, to the head of the Solway firth. This shoal proceeds from the western shores of Scotland towards the north of Ireland; where, meeting with a second interruption, they are again divided into two brigades. One shoal passes down the Irish channel, visits the Isle of Man, and affords an occasional supply to the east coast of Ireland, and the west coast of England, as far as the Bristol channel. The other shoal skirts along the west coast of Ireland, where, after visiting the lakes of Donegal, it gradually disappears, and is finally lost in the immensity of the Atlantic. Herrings, it is observed, are not seen in quantities in any of the southern kingdoms, as Spain, Portugal, or the south parts of France, on the side of the ocean, or in the Mediterranean, or on the coast of Africa.

"Were we inclined," says a well-known writer, "to consider this partial migration of the herring in a moral light, we might reflect with veneration and awe on the mighty power which originally impressed, on this most useful body of his creatures, the instinct that directs and points out their course, that blesses and enriches these islands, which causes them at certain and invariable times to quit the vast polar deeps, and offer themselves to our expecting fleets."—"This impression was given them, that they might remove for the sake of depositing their spawn in warmer seas, that would mature and vivify it more assuredly than those of the frigid zone. It is not from defect of food that they set themselves in motion, for they come to us full of fat, and on their return are almost uni-

versally observed to be lean and miserable. What their food is near the pole, we are not yet informed; but in our seas they feed much on the oniscus marinus, a crustaceous insect, and sometimes on their own fry. They are in full roe to the end of June, and continue in perfection till the beginning of winter, when they begin to deposit their spawn. Though we have no particular authority for it, yet, as very few young herrings are found in our seas during the winter, it seems most certain that they return to their parental haunts beneath the ice, to repair the vast destruction of their race during summer, by men, fowl, and fish."

Having selected a vessel with a decent crew, and a steady, intelligent, and communicative captain, (as you may style him,) and clad myself in a garb adapted for the purpose, I went on board. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon the May-flower cleared off from the pier, and o'er the swellings of a majestic tide bore away to the expanding deep.

Having understood that it was the custom of the Manx fishermen to use a *short prayer* on going out to their occupation, I felt some disappointment in observing no religious ceremony: but my suspense was soon dissipated. Turning off from the rocks, on which the venerable castle reared its pile of mouldering fragments, the captain exclaimed, "Hats off, boys;" when every man, with his face in his hat, and upon his knees, implored, for a minute, the protection and blessing of the Almighty, in the way he thought best. It was a gratifying spectacle. I cannot certify that the same expression of devotion was manifested in *every* vessel; but I presume it is, to this day, a general practice.

Having been previously informed by a respectable islander, that some years ago he had seen a great number of the fishermen upon their knees in the market-place, imploring the divine goodness, and receiving the admonitions of a Christian minister, I was jealous of this glory having departed; and at the sound of "Hats off, boys," a sensa-

tion of gratitude, tenderness, and sympathy, thrilled through my soul, which may be better conceived than described, and which can never be banished from my recollection. Solemn and affecting scene! How different from the loud oaths and vociferated curses of the ruthless seamen! How admirably adapted is such a ceremony, to remind the poor fisherman of an all-pervading Providence, by whose decree his uncertain subsistence might be swept away in a moment! And let us not start back with a suspicious coldness from these indications of devotional feeling, and, classing them with unmeaning superstitions, afford them a jealous toleration, as being only adapted to the vulgar. There may be, there must be, among such a motley assemblage, both hypocrisy and superstition; but there is, in many, a holy sense of dependence, gratitude, and veneration, which systems of national education may long labour to produce, and which would be, if lost, a great and awful calamity.

Oft as the fleet from Mona's shore
Bears to the deep its changeful sail,
Let each his pray'r devoutly pour,
And consecrate the welcome gale!

We sailed out seven miles, and then returned three. During this, the men were busily employed in preparing the nets, which occupied nearly two hours. The nets are brought on board in separate pieces, generally about 25 fathoms long and 7 deep. The usual number of pieces is nine or ten. These are then joined together to make one complete length, which, when extending behind the boat, will reach from 400 to 500 yards. Stones are fastened to the bottom of the net to cause it to sink, and buoys are tied to the top by cords, regulated by the number of fathoms it may be thought necessary to allow the net to sink. The net is then carefully rolled up, so as to facilitate

its being passed, in its whole length, over the side of the boat.

The nets being prepared, the weary fisherman, stretching himself on the fore-castle, soon falls into a slumber, tired with the sleepless labours of the preceding night; while some of his companions, more wakeful because more interested, are keeping a watchful eye in every direction, to hail the appearance of those *signs* which may direct them in the choice of their situation for fishing.

The *fleet*, being now engaged in the same anxious circumspection, presented a lively scene. With foresails down, to steady and slacken their sailing, they were all intent upon selecting the most favourable spot. A space of about ten miles in length, and from two to three in breadth, was now traversed to and fro, in rapid alternations, by about 350 vessels. The fishermen are very scrupulous about counting the vessels, superstitiously saying, as I heard myself, "If they count the ships, they shall catch no fish."

The fleet did not consist exclusively of Manx vessels. Many come, during the season, from Ireland, Scotland, and St. Ives in Cornwall. A little jealousy will necessarily be excited by the intrusion of these foreign fishermen; but that suspicious feeling seems to be wearing off, and giving way to the more liberal principle, that all have an equal title to the blessings of the sea. It is very certain that their interference cannot cause the Manxmen to catch fewer herrings. The mode of fishing adopted by the men of St. Ives is by many thought superior to that of the Manxmen; which is very probable, as they are, generally, more successful. The rapid interchanges of the vessels crossing and recrossing each other in their frequent tackings—the majestic rolling of the sea, whose cerulean waves were emblazoned by reflecting the golden clouds of an autumnal evening sky—the high spirits of the fishermen, who hailed an unusual promise in the "signs," which were making their appearance—the novelty and the peculiarity of the

scene—caused an indescribable interest, which was intensely kept up at this hour of the evening by an anxiety to witness the approaching labours.

It was now six o'clock. The signs were hailed on every hand. At the frequent animated cry of the sailors of "Down again, Down again," my attention was directed to the striking of the *gannet*, a bird which chiefly stays on the southern cliffs of the Calf of Man.*

I observed these birds often flying and hovering in certain directions, when suddenly raising themselves to the height of from 200 to 300 feet, and fixing their wings to cleave the air with peculiar facility, they descend with amazing force and velocity in a line quite perpendicular, and plunge into the wave like the falling of an anchor. It has been proved that they can descend from 10 to 20 fathoms into the water. They remain under the surface about 15 seconds, and having succeeded in their errand fly off to their rocky retreats.†

Half an hour afforded the birds of prey their sufficient supply, when the horizon was soon cleared of these feathered invaders. This entertainment was, however, quickly succeeded by the appearance of the porpoises. This animal, the "phocena delphinus" of Linnæus, is the smallest of the cetaceous tribe: those we saw were about six feet

* *Gannet* is the name used for the "Pelecanus Bassanus" of Linnæus, or the *soland goose*. Mr. Ray supposed the gannet to be a species of large gull; and he was led into the mistake by never having an opportunity of seeing this bird except flying, and in the air it has the appearance of a gull. On this supposition he gave it the title of *cataracta*, a name borrowed from Aristotle, and which admirably expresses the rapid descent of this bird on its prey.

† The Cornish mode of taking these birds, which cannot easily be shot, is, by fastening a pilchard to a board, and immersing it a little below the surface of the water; which when the gannet perceives, he precipitates himself with such violence from his aerial elevation, that his beak passes through the board, and he dashes his brains out.

long. At first, they rolled and spouted, at a distance, in different directions; afterwards, wheeling their finny backs in gentler volutions, they approached close to our boat. There is something in the idle, heedless whirl of these brawny creatures, taking their pastimes near, that affords peculiar amusement to a stranger in maritime excursions.

Availing themselves of these signs as the groundwork of their reasonings, the spectator was not a little amused to listen to the anxious disputation of the wiser ones. Every one thinks his own opinion best; and to please all, there may be sometimes no alternative but to strike sail where they are, and take their chance. It is, however, generally the case, that every vessel is quite satisfied with its situation, though some miles distant from others, which of course have the same predilection for the place they have chosen. Not far from us I observed a boat carrying a *flag*, which I found to be what is recognized by the honourable distinction of the *Admiral's boat*. The admiral rides near the centre of the fleet, and is appointed for the adjustment of differences between the boats; and the striking of his flag is the signal for the fleet to commence their work of fishing, which never takes place till *sunset*.

It was seven o'clock when the magnified orb of the blazing sun descended below the briny horizon, gleaming over the wide interposing main a broad flame of crimson, and left, in a few moments, behind him the milder reflections of the clouds, illumined by the effulgence of his setting. The admiral's flag was struck—the mainsail of each boat was quickly descending on the deck—the rusty teagles were screaming—the busy sailors shouting—and the vessels, spread far and wide upon the waters, were now stationary; and exhibited only a forest of naked masts as far as the darkening atmosphere would admit the perception of a vessel.

This was the hour of *adventure*. The nets were soaked with a few buckets of water to assist their sinking; each

individual fixed himself at his post; one to unrol the net, one on this side to adjust the stone weights, one on that to adjust the buoys, and two immediately before these to lift the net over the side of the vessel. In fifteen minutes the whole length was heaved over-board, and committed, in a trail of 500 yards, to the deep. They had now to trust to the providence of God. And I was unspeakably gratified to find that the conviction of an all-disposing Providence was not absent at a crisis when their hopes and fears were left in full operation. The sound of sacred harmony came on the gale of departing day from a vessel stationed to windward of us. It was a *hymn* sung lustily by the crew, who were reposing after their nets were struck. An unexpected salutation! A glow of sacred sympathy warmed my breast. I acknowledged the identity of that religion which can inspire the song of praise upon the Manxman's fishing-boat, as well as in the prison of Philippi. I conceded feelingly to the truth, that he that loveth God will love his brother also; and though I never saw, and never shall see, those untutored singers of Israel, I must confess, I felt that I must, as a Christian believer, love them. Remarking upon this to my fellow-sailors, I inquired if they never employed themselves in this way; and the captain, noticing the gratification afforded me by the vocal exercises of the adjacent crew, observed that "they were no great singers, but it was customary with them to have a word of prayer." "Boys, come aft," was no sooner spoken, than the willing company were seen upon their knees around me. A young man, not knowing my clerical office, commenced without ceremony, a simple, unaffected, and earnest prayer, to which I listened with peculiar pleasure, from the conviction that it was the evidence of a sincerity and a piety which were invaluable to its possessor; and still more so, because I found myself in a *house of prayer*, though tossed on the rude billows of the ocean. When this supplication ended, the claims of office,

and the bias of a devotional frame, constrained me to add my unworthy orison. Never did I realize more solemnly the presence of Jehovah, "who plants his footsteps in the sea, and rides upon the storm;" whose breath causeth "the waves thereof to rage and swell, till deep calleth unto deep at the noise of his waterspouts." I felt it incumbent upon me to implore his blessing upon our companions in the surrounding fleet, that they might "fear God, and worship him who made the sea and the fountains of waters;" and that they might be prepared to surrender their strict and solemn account to Him to whom "the sea must give up her dead;" that whenever they supplicated for mercy, they might be strong in faith, giving glory to God, and not "like the wave of the sea, that is driven of the wind and tossed;" that God would give success to their precarious occupation, and cause the net to be "cast on the right side of the ship;" and that the poor fishermen might not "toil all night, and catch nothing." I could not but supplicate for the island on whose shores we were billowed, that it might ever "wait for God's gracious law;" that the produce of the sea might ever be continued to them; and that the *Gospel-net* might be cast among them by a holy and zealous ministry; and that these blessings might be extended to the Islands of other climes, till "the abundance of the sea shall be converted unto God." Rising from our devotions, I was greeted with a fervent expression of their Christian affection.

The stars now glittered in the milky-way, and the bolder fires of the revolving planets supplied the place of the more powerful radiance of the absent moon. The light-houses at the extremities of the island were sending abroad at intervals a stream of benignant brightness. The blaze of these flickering beacons, so delectable to the bewildered mariner, brings with it associations of reflection and sympathy, which, if they be less affecting in sublimity than the contemplation of the bright orbs suspended on high by

the merciful Creator, are not less allied to those sentiments of tenderness and sensibility, which are elicited by empicturing the melancholy scenes of shipwreck.

Though not unusually dark, it was sufficiently so to give effect to the glistening appearance of the shoals of fish that approached the vessel. If any thing could make one covet darkness, in such a situation, it would be that one might witness the flouncing and struggling of the finny multitudes that are entangled in the meshes of the net.

About 10 o'clock all hands were engaged to haul in the net, which is drawn, not as many suppose after the method adopted to circumvent and enclose the fish, but leisurely, over the side of the boat. The net, being suspended perpendicularly, only catches those fish of the shoals which by traversing to and fro are entangled by the gills. At least, this is the Manx method.

The drawing in of the net is a beautiful sight. Perhaps from ten to twenty herrings in every lineal yard come tumbling over the side of the boat, if they have tolerable success. The net assumes a luminous appearance in the act of drawing, and the captured creatures, flouncing about for a few minutes, exhibit all their phosphorescent beauty, and expire. The idea of herrings being never seen alive is therefore not quite correct.

Our success being only tolerable, the mainsail was hoisted, and we drove a few miles to the southward. The same operations were again performed. Our trail, during the second shooting of the net, got entangled with that of an adjacent vessel, which obliged them to haul it again on board. This created great confusion. It will unavoidably often occur; and is always very unpleasant, by raising a tumultuous shouting and blaming each other. This is the only disagreeable you may encounter, with the exception that if the weather prove rainy or stormy you are obliged to retire to the *den*, a miserable receptacle, and rightly named, truly. With a fire on the floor, you go *in* where the smoke

comes *out*; and when entered, can neither stand nor sit, but are necessitated to stretch your longitude where you can, amid all that is sickening and wretched. Whoever ventures on a fishing excursion must prepare and fortify himself to endure the horrors of the miserable den.

During the whole period, the net was cast three times; and the number of fish taken was 8 or 10 maize, or about 7000. This is considered good success. It sometimes occurs, that one boat will take 40 or 50 maize; and in the year 1802, it was known for one boat to bring home 180; at which plentiful season 100 maize was not an unusual product. Such seasons have, however, been unknown of later years. The May-flower, our vessel, has gained 70 guineas in one night's trip; but she is thought fortunate now in clearing from 5 to 10 guineas.

The net having been drawn on board for the last time at 5 o'clock in the morning, sails were hoisted for returning home. The wind being contrary, we did not reach Peel before 8 o'clock. The interim was employed in clearing the nets of the few fish remaining entangled, and talking over events of the neighbourhood, and fishing anecdotes. Wearied with midnight vigils, I hailed with joy the long illuminated line of opening day. I watched the increasing day-break till the sun rose behind the heights of Knockaloe and Slieauny-froghane, and gleamed on the welcome tide that was bearing us homeward.

To watch the returning fleet, whose sails are expanded to the morning sun, is truly pleasing; and the stranger who will, just at the proper time, ascend the summit of Knockaloe, will be able to see this in perfection, and will be abundantly repaid for the toil of climbing the steep ascent.

On entering the harbour we were hailed by small boats, having buyers on board, who go round among the fishing boats to ascertain their success, and offer prices for their herrings.

It may be necessary here to explain the manner of dividing the product of the night's fishing. A boat is generally considered to carry 9 men and 9 pieces of net; and the product is divided into twelve shares; one of which goes to every fisherman, two to the owner of the boat, and one for the nets, which is apportioned to the owners of them respectively. Thus the captain, by taking *two* of his own men, and providing the boat and the nets, would just divide the product equally with the six fishermen who go along with him.

It may be calculated, according to *our* night's success, that each fisherman may earn from 10 to 20 shillings a night. This however would be extremely erroneous, if taken as a general example. They are sometimes unable, through stormy weather, to go out above twice or three times in a week; and often, when they go, catch but few herrings—sometimes none. There is no danger of *their* becoming rich. They deserve all they get. Their *long* absence from the domestic circle—their chief labour being required during the hours of midnight—their constant exposure to the horrors of the storm and tempest—and the painful uncertainty of their success—will constrain every one to acknowledge that their bread is hardly earned, and that the fisherman is worthy of his hire.

When we reflect that the chief subsistence of upwards of 3000 poor Islanders depends upon this precarious source, it must be a gladdening event when the fleet returns from the labours of the night with two or three thousand pounds worth of herrings. Yet, out of this good, arise two serious evils, which every means should be employed to correct. The one is, that success in fishing induces excess in drinking. Intoxication is the bane of this Island. It is to be regretted that the low price of spirituous liquors affords such a facility for indulgence in this destructive crime. The other evil is a disgusting indolence when on shore, resulting from the nature of sea-faring occupations.

Accustomed to their fishing, they become almost useless at home. The females toil in the fields, and cultivate the farm; while the men, having no engagements at sea, lounge away the vacant day in the corner of some neighbouring tap-room, talking over the wonderful exploits and escapes of the preceding season. As agricultural arrangements are now carrying forward with increasing spirit, it is hoped that the male population will derive a political and moral advantage. There is no doubt that if the time that is employed in fishing were employed in farming, it would as well repay the poor man for his labour. He that can convince the Manxmen of this truth will confer a benefit as great as his task will be difficult.

Being once more on terra firma, I found myself in the midst of a busy population. General anxiety to know what had been our success manifested itself. The herrings began soon to be circulated as a trading commodity. Carts from Douglas and different parts of the country were carrying away the shining purchase; lusty females were conveying off their baskets with the milky-looking contents; and the smoky-visaged paupers came buying the day's meal at 5 for a penny, pleased, at so reasonable a rate, to replenish the table of their hardy families.

The fishermen, on landing, brought along with them their nets, which were forthwith shouldered to the adjacent hill, where I observed scores of them laying them abroad to dry, and mending the broken meshes, to be ready for the next excursion.*

A circumstance at this time happened, which created an additional movement, particularly among the younger tribes. One of the fishermen venturously attempting to bring to shore a small skully-boat, which he had overladen with herrings, it was overturned by the heavy surge which

* For an account of the manner in which the herrings are *salted* and *dried* for exportation, the reader is referred to page 149.

was driving upon the beach. The children of the town were quickly crowded upon the shore, attempting, with wonderful amusement to themselves, to snatch from the driving waves the floating fry. The merriment was great to the freakish children; but the poor man, who had lost about 10,000 herrings, was not so pleased to see their mirth at his expense.

While the weather continues favourable, the fishing operations, which I have attempted to describe, are kept up during the season without intermission; and I frankly confess, few specimens of industry have afforded me greater entertainment or satisfaction than the herring-fishing of the Isle of Man.



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